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The Thompsons' Town:
Family, Industry, and Material Culture in Indiana, Ontario 1830 - 1900

by
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Dissertation
Submitted to the Department of History
In partial fulfillment of the requirement for
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This study considers the industrial development and subsequent decline of the town of Indiana, Ontario, during the years 1830 – 1900, a period of intense socioeconomic change and population mobility. This dissertation applies interdisciplinary frameworks, especially those derived from archaeological inquiry, in order to assess the documentary evidence and also the material culture of nineteenth-century Indiana, in the interests of understanding both the historic process of rural industrialization by means of a case study and also the elusive processes of social and familial interaction in the Ontario towns caught up by the swirl of socioeconomic change during this period. How, and why, did a town of such promise reach its peak and then decline, in a short span of time between 1830 and 1900, especially when it was so well-positioned to succeed? Why did Indiana fail when other towns of the district succeeded?

Residents of what was, until the 1860s, the largest industrial town in Haldimand County, sustained complex relationships and alliances with employers, employees, family members, and the wider community, shaped by, and in turn affecting, the relations of class, gender, race, family, and age. Life in nineteenth century Ontario was based on these ever- widening and interrelated circles of membership and relationship. There were families that stayed together whenever possible for economic and social reasons, but there were also affiliations based on patron-client relationships, religion or race, as well as the less obvious connections with home and landscape. The Thompson family, headed in turn by David Thompson and his son David Thompson II, owned

numerous businesses in Indiana and consequently were involved in many of these circles of relationship as these developed through the process of growth and expansion that, for several decades, characterized this town. This study of Indiana suggests that rural industrialization, as a larger transformative process in nineteenth-century Ontario, frequently entailed rapid growth followed by stasis, and, not infrequently, as Indiana's case demonstrates, decline and disappearance. The data, both textual and artifactual, also support the notion of a fairly representative social hierarchy in the town, based on class and status as defined by occupation, personal wealth, and familial and community standing - all in relation to the male family head - but also delineated by race, religion, gender, age and country of origin.

Acknowledgements

The educational journey that I have been on has been the fulfillment of a lifelong dream. I have wanted to obtain my doctorate for as long as I can remember. Along the way I have been blessed with the love and support of many wonderful people and I feel like I will be unable to thank them adequately. However, I must begin with Dr. Cindy Comacchio. I simply cannot imagine an advisor who could be more supportive or helpful than you. Words cannot express my appreciation for everything you have done to help make this an exciting and enjoyable process. Gratitude feels so inadequate and words are failing me in this endeavour, but I do want to thank you from the bottom of my heart. I also wish to thank Dr. Catharine Wilson and Dr. John Triggs, my other advisors who have helped me fine-tune and clarify my work. I had the good fortune to have taken courses with all of you as a graduate student and I benefitted greatly from your advice and assistance during the writing of my dissertation.

I want to thank Dr. Dean Knight, you were a professor of mine as an undergraduate student in archaeology at Wilfrid Laurier, and are now a friend. I have so appreciated your support and encouragement as I have progressed in my university career. I will never forget your willingness to let me assist with AR460, as it gave me a taste for teaching that I am now hungry for.

I wish to thank Marilynn Havelka and your team at Ruthven Park National Historic Site. You gave me open access to the documents at Ruthven, without which I would not have been able to learn about the lives of everyday workers in

Indiana. I am extremely grateful for your encouragement, friendship and your willingness to share so much.

I want to applaud the work of Lynne Doyle, Administrative Assistant in the History Department at Wilfrid Laurier. Lynne you have been invaluable on so many levels and I wish to acknowledge my gratitude for your efforts. I would also like to mention how much I appreciated the guidance of Dr. Susan Neylan, Graduate Officer at Wilfrid Laurier. You helped make this whole process so much more human. Thank you!

I am indebted to the kind assistance of Sylvia Weaver and Dan Walker who shared their knowledge of St. Rose of Lima church and cemetery, as well as information on the Irish Catholics who built Indiana but who have largely been ignored. It was a pleasure to have such an open dialogue on this topic.

I would like to take this opportunity of extending my heartfelt thanks to all of my friends and chosen family, who have guided, supported and held me up during these long years of following this dream. I particularly want to thank Cathy, Heather, Kim and Cheri. I love you all so very much.

Finally, I want to dedicate this dissertation to my grandmother, Evelyn Kennedy, who did not live to see me achieve this dream but who is cheering me on, wherever she is.

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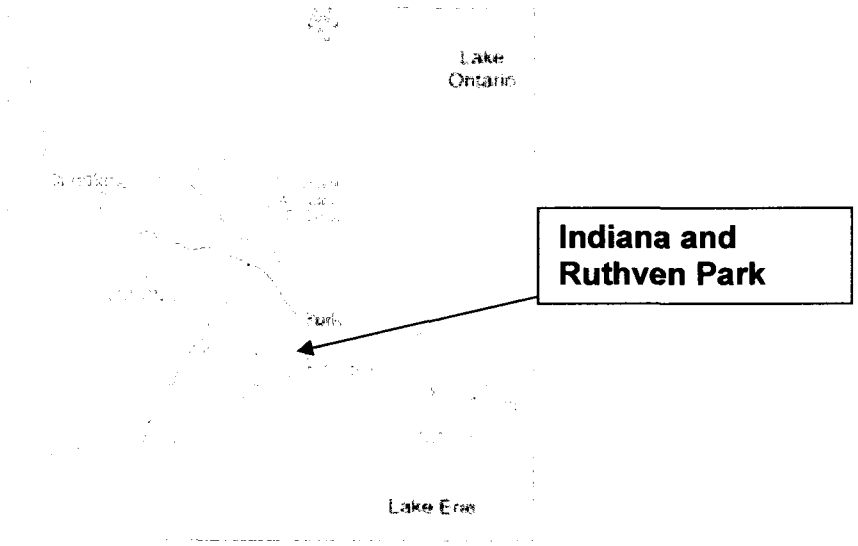
Introduction: Indiana in Socio-historical Context

In 1998 the imposing mansion known as Ruthven Park, built by David Thompson I in 1845, was designated a National Historic Site. The son of a Scottish Presbyterian immigrant to Upper Canada, David Thompson was an entrepreneur, miller, developer and politician. Adjacent to Ruthven was situated the town of Indiana, the largest industrial town in Haldimand County in the mid-nineteenth century and primarily envisioned by David Thompson I. The town had a number of water-powered mills, taverns, stores and inns, as well as the

Figure A: Map of Indiana, Haldimand County, Ontario



workshops of various skilled artisans. The town boasted two churches and a well-developed social structure that provided for education, entertainment and a sense of community. As in most small towns of its time, transportation was complicated, with roads in constant need of repair. Indiana relied heavily on the Grand River, alongside which it developed. Useable water transportation was one of the most important factors in Indiana's development, as this waterway

facilitated the transfer of people and goods from Lake Erie, along the Grand River, to Brantford and beyond.

How, and why, did a town of such promise reach its peak and then decline, in a short span of time between 1830 and 1900, especially when it was so well-positioned to succeed? Why did Indiana fail when other towns of the district succeeded? The story of Indiana must be framed within the larger context of far-reaching social, economic and technological changes, as Canada, a British colony of disparate regions which only attained nation-state status with the Confederation of 1867, experienced a transformation in the nineteenth century, from dependence on agriculture to the development of an industrialized market economy. As elsewhere in the western world, the introduction of industry changed the labour and economic conditions of rural communities. Developing towns underwent modifications that included multiple regional, local, ethnic, class, gendered and national shifts in identities, philosophies and practices as well as experiencing the far-ranging effects of new technologies that enabled mass production and mass marketing of an expanding range of consumer goods. Modes of transportation and communication changed rapidly, compelling modifications in lifestyles, standards of living, family relations, occupations, status and community standing, education, and even the manipulation of the environment by individuals and businesses.

Focusing on Indiana as a case study, the central questions of this study are straightforward: what can a detailed reconstruction of such a town tell us about the development of rural industrialization in Upper Canada, later Ontario?[i]

What can we learn about the complex relations of class, gender, race, family, age and work in a setting that was undergoing this historic process of transformation? To what extent can such a town be seen to be representative of other places that also dealt with the impact of industrialization? How can a town that has been lost to history and human memory be reanimated in such a way as to further our historical understanding of community life? Is it possible to employ traditional documentary or textual analysis in combination with material culture analysis, by means of artifactual findings, to glimpse sights, sounds and ordinary activities of daily life, thereby providing vibrancy and vitality to this little-known story?[2] To address the questions that inform this research, it will be necessary to examine and employ a number of sources, methodologies and theoretical perspectives, derived from both historical and archaeological disciplines. The objective is to progress from a larger perspective that seeks to study Indiana within the context of provincial developments, especially regarding its Grand River neighbours of the time, to a micro-analysis of the ways in which the period's socioeconomic, and ultimately national transformations, shaped the trajectory of one small rural town, Indiana, in Haldimand County, Ontario.

During the nineteenth century, family-operated farms represented the majority of rural-industrial residences in Ontario. The industrializing town of Indiana resembled many other rural towns during the tumultuous late nineteenth century years, yet their experiences are underrepresented in both historical and archaeological studies of Ontario. Studies of rural environments have often focused on the small diversified businessmen or on the economic history of

farming; most existing scholarly examinations of industrialization have studied its manifestations in urban settings.[3] Certainly historians recognize the complexity of rural life and strongly advocate the study of the intricate relationship networks of these communities.[4] A number of archaeological studies have examined the ruins of cities and towns that had failed to live sustainably with their local environments, but this work has, for the most part, been accomplished outside Canada.[5] What makes this study of Indiana unique is that it focuses on the impact of industrialization on families in a formerly rural area, a perspective made possible by the presence of a large body of documentary and archaeological data associated with the town. As a result, this work offers a level of contextual depth and local detail that will contribute to filling in some of the remaining gaps in historical and archaeological inquiry in Ontario.

Using a variety of sources and approaches, this study demonstrates that Indiana was probably fairly representative in its pattern of development, in how it was founded, grew, prospered and eventually disappeared, allowing for some further historical insight into the rural-industrial phase of nineteenth-century Ontario. Further, this study demonstrates that there were many reasons for the changes that occurred in small towns between 1830 and 1900. Specifically, this study establishes that the majority of the population in Indiana was highly transient and that many residents used tenancy and occupational pluralism as intentional family strategies. This study also attempts to uncover the daily experiences of life in an industrializing town, necessitating attention to the ways in which the class, race, gender and age variables affected the lives of the

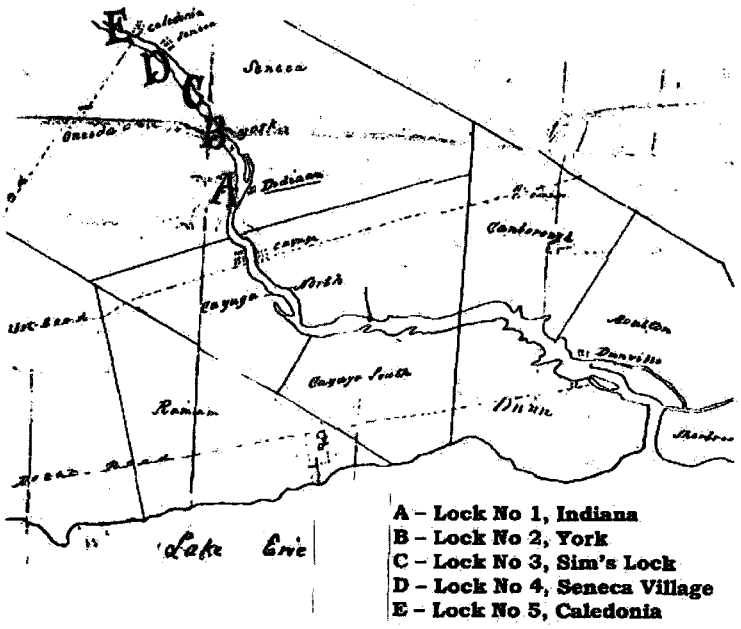
residents. The findings indicate that there was a clear hierarchy in operation, with inferior status ascribed to the female, Irish Catholic, Black and Indian members of Indiana society. Indiana residents were involved in complex social relations that comprised efforts of mutual support and collective goals within families, and external relationships, with employers, employees, institutions and the wider community, that shifted according to changing individual and community needs and objectives during the tumultuous years between 1830 and 1900. Finally, this study utilizes multiple lines of evidence, including those of material culture, to show that men, women and children were in a condition of continuous social motion, and were thus impelled to actively negotiate their roles and well-being, individually, in families, and in the community, in nineteenth-century Indiana society.

i. History and Geography: Grand River Navigation

Indiana was situated on the Grand River approximately 22 miles from the mouth of the river, at Lake Erie.[6] Although navigation was possible on the Grand River, the water was frequently shallow, making movement difficult for heavily-laden vessels. Existing technology had the potential to improve navigation along the river and there were many who believed that adoption of such advances could easily translate into high profits. Chief among the promoters were William Hamilton Merritt and David Thompson.[7] As early as 1832, the Grand River Navigation Company (GRNC) was incorporated, with David Thompson holding twenty-five percent of the shares in the company.[8] The intent of the company

was to build five locks in a north-westerly direction between Indiana and Caledonia. Its mandate was to improve navigation from the mouth of the Grand River to Brantford, which encompassed 57½ miles.[9] Thus, in 1833, in order to render the Grand River navigable, and to overcome the falls, the GRNC began the improvement of the river.[10] Canalers, boatmen, carpenters, blacksmiths and labourers were put to work on the installation of lock No. 1 at Indiana, which was

Figure B: Map indicating where the locks were placed along the Grand River by the GRNC



the first of eight locks erected between Indiana and Brantford, and the first of five locks built by the GRNC.[11] Due to the hard labour of largely unskilled canal workers, many of whom were Irish immigrants, construction moved along rapidly; according to one contemporary source, freight shipping started along the river in 1836, even though the locks were not yet fully completed. [12]

Indiana was the first stop on the journey upstream from the mouth of the river to Brantford. There is little doubt that the area quickly began to develop as demand arose for housing, food and employment. David Thompson was an entrepreneur intent on reaping the benefits of this growing community. In the 1830's he established himself as a merchant, a saw and grist miller, who as a director of the GRNC was granted free water rights to run one of his mills. He was also a distiller and a dealer in square lumber and timber. [13] Among the key elements that influenced the development of Indiana were the status, capital, authority and leadership of David Thompson I. His son, David Thompson II, took over his empire after his death in 1851. Together the Thompson men directed their businesses in ever-widening circles of influence. Between 1832, when the Grand River Navigation Canal Company first began building a lock in the area that would quickly become Indiana, and 1886, when David Thompson II died, enormous political, social and economic changes were negotiated, debated and realized, by men such as the Thompsons, on local, regional and national levels. Considering that the Thompson men participated in that process, in part because they were both elected members of the Upper Canadian House, later the Parliament of Canada, it is important to understand the roles they embraced in the family, the community, and the larger society that they lived and worked within.[14]

While there is little doubt that the town's origins can be traced to the elder David Thompson, the story of Indiana is much more than the story of one man and his accomplishments. Indiana was the largest industrial town in Haldimand

County in the mid nineteenth century, its population peeking at 766 individuals in the 1860s.[15] Over its history Indiana had two saw mills, a grist mill, a carding mill, a pail mill, a brick and tile yard, several inns, a post office, a school, numerous general stores, two grocers, a cooperage, two distilleries, as well as the artisanal shops of a number of blacksmiths, shoemakers, masons, carpenters and plasterers. A Roman Catholic Church was built on the land that had been purchased from the GRNC for five shillings in 1841, and a Presbyterian church was built by the Thompsons in 1851.[16] Apart from business and religious activities, a variety of recreational facilities existed in and around Indiana, some of which were cause for concern to the religious members of the community, including a ball field and a nearby horse race track.[17] There were other diversions that some found threatening, such as taverns that were licensed by the government.[18] In the town plan, interspersed with the businesses and recreation facilities, were the dwellings where many of the workers lived with their families. In other words, Indiana was a noisy, bustling, busy town where people worked, played and went about the activities of daily life, contributing to the varied sights, sounds and smells of this industrial place. Life in Indiana would not have been the idyllic quiet country existence that some envision of the past. Unlike other nearby small towns, Indiana had transitioned from, as archaeologist John Triggs describes it, a "small settlement, based on primary resource extraction and processing, to a settled community with a diverse economic base."[19]

When David Thompson arrived in the area in 1831, the town was known as Grand River Rapids.[20] Sometime shortly after that, it was given the new name

of Indiana. It is unclear exactly when the name officially changed, or even why; the first known document referring to it as Indiana was a letter written in 1833 from John Foreman of Hamilton to John Frayce (Freas), a labourer in Indiana.[21] In 1834 David Thompson advertised for canal workers to work in Indiana, and in 1835 various townspeople petitioned the government for a bridge to be built across the river at Indiana. The government first recognized the town by the name of Indiana when the post office was officially opened on November 5, 1841, with Richard Brown as the first postmaster.[22] The first known document that linked David Thompson with the name "Indiana" was in 1837. It would appear that the rechristened new name coincided with the building of the town itself.[23] Interestingly, as Indiana began to decline in population in the 1870s, a small hamlet was built, under the direction of David Thompson II, between Indiana and Cayuga. Founded in 1874, it was known as Deans. In 1876, Indiana, Deans and the surrounding postal area were renamed *Deans* to incorporate this new larger area.[24] Like Indiana, Deans did not prosper, primarily because the dam that was built there by David Thompson experienced a breach in 1881.[25] Shortly thereafter the town of Deans was abandoned. Thus by 1915 the population of the entire area had declined to the point that the post office was closed at Deans and the postal boundaries were changed yet again to encompass a larger geographical area; the mailing address for the area became *Cayuga*.[26] As noted by Gerald and Elizabeth Bloomfield, changing the name of towns was common in the nineteenth century, in part because the renaming was intended to reflect the march toward development and growth.[27] While that may

have been the goal of those who made such decisions at Indiana, the reality, in the end, was very different.

One of the central questions in this work concerns the factors contributing to the town's ultimate demise. What happened to the town of Indiana? At the head of an important transportation route, Indiana was uniquely situated and reasonably ought to have survived the myriad transformations occurring in Ontario as technological advances improved transportation and industrialization proceeded apace. Although the town grew rapidly through the decades following its founding in the 1830s, by the 1870s, which scholars have noted as the years of Canada's Industrial Revolution, Indiana had already started a decline that would see its near total demise by the turn of the century.[28] Little has survived to the present beyond a few scattered farm houses, the remnants of farmers' fields, and Ruthven mansion itself. Today Indiana sits partially on the grounds of Ruthven Park National Historic Site, which comprises 1500 acres of protected land that is owned and administered by the Lower Grand River Trust.[29]

It would be tempting to argue that Indiana experienced the downward spiral because of the introduction of the railroad in the 1850s, which quickly made canals obsolete, or because the railroad bypassed Indiana in favour of nearby Cayuga, which meant that the town was no longer able to compete in larger markets. It could also be argued that, when the GRNC went bankrupt in 1861, so too did the town of Indiana. Yet that was not exactly what happened, as people continued to move into the area and businesses continued to flourish, albeit in smaller and smaller numbers, for the next thirty years. Transportation

issues, consequently, do not fully explain the complexities of the rise and fall of Indiana. The occupational opportunities of the inhabitants, obviously closely tied to the wealthy individuals who employed them, are another possible avenue of inquiry to pursue. In spite of the importance of transportation and the wealth of the Thompsons, the evidence suggests that the reasons why people left Indiana were more subtle and varied than these contributing factors. This study will examine some of the strongest evidence about this issue.

The exodus from the countryside clearly was not unique to Indiana, as many scholars have noted the phenomenon of rural out-migration during this period. An assessment of the surrounding area reveals that, in a span of six kilometers, between York and Cayuga, in the mid-1800s, there were five towns: York, Mount Healy, Indiana, Deans and Cayuga. Today only York and Cayuga exist. The other three are often labeled as "ghost towns" on historical documents related to the towns, if they are mentioned at all. In other words, 40 percent of the towns in a six kilometer span persist to this day; 60 percent are no longer viable. If that rough proportion of disappearance and persistence holds true for the rest of the province, this study is a first step towards filling the gaps in our historical understanding about the small towns and rural life that shaped Ontario.

ii. The Rural-Industrial Period

Canadian scholarship has tended to reinforce a certain dichotomy by examining urban and rural life in sharp contrast to one another. The language employed to discuss their distinctions lends itself to perpetuating such simplistic

generalizations as those concerning the moral rectitude of rural life by comparison to the depravity of city life, and how humanity is free and in communion with nature in the rural setting, while the city destroys people's spirit, principles and character. These differences are at the heart of the concept known as the agrarian myth and, as such, they provide a basis for understanding why it is difficult to combine notions about what is "rural" and what is "industrial" in reference to the town of Indiana.[30] Yet because the town was built on a union of the rural and the industrial, such a conceptualization is historically relevant.

Initially it was expected that the term *proto-industrial,* as defined by Gerhard J. Ens in his work on the Métis in the nineteenth century, would be used to describe this period. Ens notes that, in Europe, proto-industrialization resulted from the destabilization and decomposition of traditional peasant societies.[31] The difficulties of comparing the frontier society of Upper Canada with the established peasant societies of Europe challenge the application of the proto-industrial classification to the Upper Canadian setting. As Ens describes it, proto-industrialization was the industrialization of the cottage industry, whereby manufacturing industries were located in the countryside and production organized in cottage workshops; he concludes that the cottage industry often preceded and sometimes led to modern industry.[32] In the case of Indiana, research initially suggested that the earliest businesses were primarily cottage industries, which led the way to the development of larger businesses and ultimately full-scale industry. Closer investigation, however, has shown that cottage industries, such as those belonging to shoemakers, tailors, cabinet

makers and blacksmiths, coexisted alongside the larger commercial enterprises of mill owners and distillers, rather than pre-dating them.[33] Hence, the classification "proto-industrial" did not fit Indiana as closely as anticipated.

Ens also argues that the proto-industrial period has, in North America, historically led to either industrial capitalism or to a retreat into de-industrialization or re-pastoralization.[34] Further, he notes that proto-industrialization was the Métis adaptive response before the movement of large numbers of workers to factory employment.[35] While there is evidence of re-pastoralization at Indiana, as industry slowly receded and finally ceased altogether, the rest of his description of the proto-industrial period does not apply to Indiana. My research revealed that Indiana's population increased steadily from the 1830s to the early 1860s, but by the mid 1870s the town was experiencing a steady exodus of people and resources. The 1901 Dominion census recorded only a handful of residents in Indiana/Deans.[36]

Ruth Bleasdale applied the terms *pre-industrial* and *early industrial* to this period from 1830 to 1890.[37] Douglas McCalla has argued that farm households were always involved in the capitalist market, but that the small scale of their enterprises made them part of the pre-capitalist social formation, and therefore also part of the early or pre-industrial one.[38] While Indiana was not a fully industrial town, the term *pre-industrial* does not acknowledge that some industry was present from the earliest indications that a town was being developed. The 1871 census defined an *industrial establishment* as a place where one or several people are employed in "manufacturing, altering, making up or changing from

one shape into another, materials for sale, use or consumption, quite irrespectively of the amount of capital employed or of the products turned out".[39] From its beginnings, then, the nature of production in Indiana fit the census definition, making the term "pre-industrial" somewhat inadequate.

The classification *early industrial* is similarly inaccurate in describing the first phase of production in Indiana. While its manufacturing likely exemplified early industry in Upper Canada, the town economy did not depend on industry alone, relying also on the agrarian efforts of those in and around Indiana. This interdependence of industry and agriculture was certainly not unique to Indiana. Kenneth Michael Sylvester, among others, notes the predominance of farmers among occupational categories in nineteenth-century Ontario: over half the male labour force 14 years of age and over identified themselves as farmers in the 1871 census.[40] Historian Terry Crowley observed that the number of male labourers in Ontario actually declined while the number of farmers increased in the decade between 1861 and 1871; he noted, however, that the change in the labour force from labourers to farmers may have had more to do with the manner in which the data was collected than in any fundamental transformation in the labour force.[41] Finally, while the label "Industrial Revolution" is commonly used to denote the shift to mechanized production, the 'revolution' varied in nature and degree, as well as timing, across the western world and even regionally across the nation. Integral to its understanding, however, are the processes of urbanization, intensification of labour, continued and expanding economic growth and, perhaps most important, the capital-intensive adoption of technological

innovation in production.[42] Although its setting was not urban, all other parts of that definition describe the history of Indiana during the years 1830 to 1900.

Key to this consideration of the shifting socioeconomic history of Indiana are changes in production and labour as a result of changing technology. American historian Christopher Clark contends that despite their centrality, it was not just the canals and railroads that opened rural markets to industry: new farming tools and methods provided a means through which people responded to industrialization on the land.[43] Clark also points out that rural change was rooted more in farming techniques than in general attitudes about farming.[44] Similarly, Hal Barron considers the changes wrought by the introduction of farm equipment and machinery and concludes that they were mostly one-time changes that did not result in appreciable alterations in the overall agrarian way of life.[45] Whether due largely to its labour demands, Indiana eventually reverted back to its original agrarian or pastoral lifeway, never making the expected transition from early industrial town to fully industrialized urban centre over time.[46]

American historian Marvin Fisher identifies five factors that he regards as most significant in the encouragement of industrial development: rapid population growth that increased the market for manufacturers and also the supply of labour; rich natural resources for the necessary materials; government policies to protect fledgling manufacturing; and widespread national pride that helped to overcome some of the anxieties about, and prejudices against, the manufacturing interests. Finally, there were significant improvements in transportation, including canals, steamships and railroads, which made possible

the critical access to wider markets.[47] Based on Fisher's factors, Indiana ought to have fostered industrial development given its location, resources, labour supply, and the financial interests of local residents. Yet the outcome was that industrial development eventually sputtered and ceased altogether.

After considering some of the analytical frameworks and concepts associated with rural and industrial societies, it became evident that the transition to industrial capitalism is central to any project intended to inform historical understandings of socioeconomic trends in the nineteenth century.[48] This study, consequently, will employ the term *rural industrial* in discussing Indiana, where rural is defined as being "in, of, or suggesting the country; pastoral or agricultural" and industrial refers to the application of mechanized production to a country or region.[49] The definition of the rural industrial period has been operationalized to refer to the introduction of industry into regions whose chief land use had previously been pastoral or agricultural and where a close relationship between industry and agricultural production persisted.

iii. Industry, Family and Material Culture: Interconnections

American historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich studies the mundane or ordinary objects that were utilized in the negotiation of everyday life. She has examined the changes in the production of cloth over time, and what that meant to the relations of Natives and white settlers as well as between family members in accordance with gender and age. She notes how ordinary objects reveal larger economic and social structures, and how early Americans made, used, sold, and

saved textiles in order to assert particular identities and to shape relationships in particular ways. One of her main tenets, then, is that objects tell stories and that artifacts tell us the most when they are imbedded in history.[50] Following upon Ulrich's perspectives, this study aims to demonstrate that industry, family and material culture can be approached historically through both documentary analysis and through analysis of artifacts, especially when these approaches and types of evidence are layered and studied in relation to each other and in historical context. As such, they reveal much about the residents of Indiana and their histories, both large and small.[51]

Family historian Tamara Hareven also produced a number of seminal studies devoted to the impact of industrialization on families engaged in factory work. She explored how socioeconomic developments in the larger society, as well as economic constraints and changes in industrial organization, affected the family's ability to respond to labour markets and to organize migration, attending to the vital relationship between "individual time, family time and industrial time."[52] Hareven argues that the common pattern in working-class life was one of commitment to a collective family economy.[53] Since Hareven was studying the cotton and worsted mills of Manchester, which, at their height employed 17,000 workers, her findings are not directly applicable to the situation in Indiana. Nonetheless, there are extremely useful threads that must be considered in regard to the interplay of family, industry and material culture for this case study. While Hareven had a detailed collection of corporation records and oral histories on which to base her conclusions, no such substantiation is available for Indiana.

The evidence for this study comes primarily from the account books of both David Thompsons and their related business documents, as well as other archival sources that are, by their nature, not as personal nor as illustrative of actual lived experiences. It has been possible, however, to recognize that workers embraced their personal and family time outside of their work hours in Indiana as in other industrial settings of the time.[54]

Like Hareven, archaeologist Paul A. Shackel is interested in the interrelationship of industry and domestic life, and how that can be examined archaeologically and historically. Like Ens as well, Shackel found that, at Harpers Ferry, a town in Virginia that became a national historic site, industry displaced craft or cottage industries and entrepreneurs developed new industrial technologies.[55] Shackel argues that religion and education were the essential elements of domestic life because they helped to shape everyday behaviour and therefore the material culture of the working class family. There is considerable evidence at Indiana that religion and education were central instruments not only for the dissemination of information, but also for socialization of the inhabitants to correspond to the needs and rhythms of industrial life. Both David Thompsons were interested in the spiritual well-being of the workers of Indiana, as demonstrated by the building of a non-denominational church, and they were both very active in superintending the local schools.[56]

Shackel describes how "created meaning" and "created memory" are involved in the construction and dissemination of knowledge.[57] Both concepts are important organizing principles for this study of Indiana. Shackel contends that

objects and landscapes represent different meanings to different people at different times; visible objects are constantly being constructed, changed, challenged or ignored.[58] A mansion, such as David Thompson's home adjacent to Indiana, which he called Ruthven Park, now a national historic site, is a visible, material, object and therefore subject to constructed memory. But what about a place such as Indiana itself, where today there is scant visible evidence that a town ever existed? Apart from archaeological remains and scattered historical references to the town, there is little to invite revisioning or reconstruction. This study will consider what the townsfolk of Indiana were attempting to remember during the years 1830 to 1900 and what they chose to forget when the town ceased to exist.[59] By examining both documentary sources and material culture my objectives are to uncover family economic strategies; to examine the key social issues that confronted the residents; and to highlight ethnicity, race, gender, class and age as they affected particular members of the town. These issues shaped the town's trajectory, its rise and decline. By focusing on these overlapping themes, this dissertation will uncover some of the myriad ways that industry, family and material culture affected the lives of the ordinary citizens who lived and worked in Indiana during this formative/transformative period.

iv. The Evidence: History, Archaeology, and Ruthven National Historic Site

The Thompson Papers located at Ruthven National Historic Site constitute a collection of business journals, letters, receipts, cheque stubs, maps, photographs and other miscellaneous items related to five generations of one

family, the Thompsons, who lived at Ruthven. In actual fact, only the first two David Thompsons, and their families, resided for any length of time at Ruthven; what is important is that this collection of documents reflects over 150 years of family history at one site.[60] Since the house is considered to be an excellent example of Greek revival architecture and was associated with five generations of the same family, from settler to settlement periods, it was ascribed National Historic Site status in 1998.[61]

Although there was some organization of the documents, no one had yet undertaken to discover and catalogue their contents when this study commenced. Hence it was imperative to embark on a project of reading, interpreting and selecting those documents that would yield the most information related to the years under investigation. What followed was the transcription of letters, invoices, receipts, cheque stubs, ledgers and other relevant information. Later, a search of census records, maps, gazetteers, historical directories, newspapers and other relevant historical sources, in a variety of museums, archives and libraries, was undertaken.[62]

In addition to the documentary and archival materials that comprise traditional historical sources, this study is also relying on the archaeological materials that were excavated, at two separate field schools, in the summers of 2004 and 2006, under the direction of John Triggs, a historical archaeologist based at Wilfrid Laurier University. [63] The artifacts were excavated, identified, catalogued and entered into a database. Triggs provided access to the database to permit me to assess and analyze the artifacts from three house lots in Indiana.

This examination was limited to three lots mainly due to the fact that these were the basis of the most reliable historical and archaeological records available.

The historical data amassed has been organized into databases, which have been searched and sorted to select out specific information on particular subjects. That material is the basis of chapters 2 through 5. My archaeological training brought to this historical research a grounding in archaeological method and theory which were of great benefit in assessing the lots in Indiana; this discussion is found primarily in Chapter 6.

v. The Archaeological Literature: A Select Review

Historical archaeology is a relatively new field in Canada, generally traced back to the 1980s. As such, there has been very little written to date about Canada, let alone Ontario. American, Australian and British archaeologists, however, have undertaken projects that explore the industrializing process, nation-building, relations of race, class, gender, nation and other subjects, in their respective countries. A selection of these will inform my work with regard to the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the archaeological elements of this project, some of which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

A study of this kind is necessarily practical in nature, due to the fact that the sources themselves are tactile and require hands-on techniques in order to read them effectively; this applies to both documentary evidence and the artifacts themselves. In fact, historical archaeology involves an intimate interplay between theory and practice. As Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson point out, while

archaeologists may read material culture, they do not read it as if it were text; as they argue, "material culture does not just exist, it is made by someone. It is produced to do something. Therefore it does not passively *reflect* society – rather, it creates society."[64] In order to understand how material culture creates a given society, the theories applied to any reading of an artifact assemblage will necessarily be based on the questions the researcher is asking, the excavation techniques used, the geographic location, the ethnicity of the group in question and the social issues that might be pertinent to the excavated population, to name a few of the most important variables to be considered.

Beginning in the 1980s, the triad of race, class and gender began to be examined archaeologically, using an ever widening theoretical net. Partly because artifacts are inherently material in nature, one of the issues that arose was that of discerning the socioeconomic standing of individuals through the objects themselves. This is accomplished by studying the relationship between the price and style of artifacts excavated and the overall social "message" that such artifacts would have delivered to the society at large. One of the foremost experts on the topic is George Miller, an American archaeologist who pioneered the use of ceramics to ascertain the socioeconomic position of those who occupied a site.[65] In this approach, the researcher separates the found ceramic pieces into different ware types and then compares that list to known retail costs for each ware type, in order to ascertain whether the occupants could afford the more expensive or less expensive ware types. For the first time, archaeologists had a quantifiable method to determine the apparent socioeconomic standing of

the inhabitants they were studying. Most historical archaeologists adopted this method, which became central to the investigation of most historic sites of European origin, primarily because the single most common excavated artifacts are pieces, or sherds, of pottery and ceramics.

Employing Miller's method and historic data, a multi-authored collection of essays edited by Suzanne Spencer-Wood (1987) explored the concept of consumer choice as a reflection of wealth. Her main argument is that socioeconomic stratification significantly affects certain consumer behaviors, involving choices to acquire, and later archaeologically deposit, relatively expensive versus inexpensive goods.[66] The premise is that evaluation of certain qualities of consumer goods and class categories allows for comparisons between archaeological data and historical documentation of socioeconomic status. This sort of analysis provides a systematic exploration of the interrelationships between archaeological data and historical texts. The conclusion the various authors collectively drew was that selectivity of discard increases with increasing socioeconomic status. In other words, if an expensive ceramic platter was chipped, it was less likely to have been thrown away than damaged cheaper wares. This calls into question Miller's approach, as his method is based on the assumption that the ceramic assemblage is a direct reflection of activities across the entire site and not of selective discard practices. Not surprisingly, such critiques led to Miller fine-tuning his method in 1991.[67] Miller's method still stands as a useful tool in ascertaining the socioeconomic

standing of a site, as long as it is used in conjunction with other lines of evidence; it will be utilized in my examination of the lots at Indiana in Chapter 6.

As discussed, while archaeology is necessarily theoretical, it is also inherently a hands-on discipline that is practical in nature. Archaeologists have developed a substantial body of methods, techniques, procedures and classificatory models, which can be used to assess the artifacts unearthed during an excavation. Yet there are surprisingly few academic studies on excavations that are directly and practically relevant to Indiana. It is necessary nonetheless to find historic sites that are similar to Indiana, with as many social, economic, ethnic and geographic parameters in common as possible, in order to move beyond the theoretical to the practical. One of the most helpful series of archaeological studies in this respect are those associated with the Boott Mill complex in Lowell, Massachusetts (1987).[68] The archaeologists who reported on the cotton mills and associated boarding houses were particularly interested in comprehending the lives of the workers outside of the worksites and inside their homes. They considered a much larger array of documentary and archaeological sources than previous studies; in so doing, they discussed such subjects as the urban landscape, living conditions, meal times, leisure time, clothing and personal adornment. Although the Boott Mill complex was significantly larger than Indiana, and, in contrast to Indiana many of the industrial buildings are still standing, the possible correlations are considerable.

Although ceramics are ubiquitous on sites and often a point of entry in archaeological work, scholars also consider other types of artifact categories and

theoretical models that can be developed or applied. A collection of essays edited by James A Delle, Stephen Mrozowski and Robert Paynter (2000) looked at the intersection of race, class and gender in historical archaeology in the United States, reinforcing the importance of material culture in accessing the meanings of each. As the editors contend, "Architecture, dress, table settings, food and landscapes all served as vehicles for class identity in the broader social arena. Indeed it is the rich texture of this material domain that affords us the opportunity to explore the labyrinth of class formation and its nexus with other social divides like race and gender."[69]

Mark D. Groover (2003) published his study of the Gibbs site, a middle-class, family-based farmstead located in Tennessee, to examine rural capitalism and the agricultural economy. Groover concluded that rural patrimony was a significant internal structuring element, which was critical for the economic strategies employed by successive Gibbs households.[70] There is little doubt that the Thompson family embraced wholeheartedly that sort of ethic over the years of my study. It is not as obvious that Indiana townsfolk also subscribed to these views, which, as David Burley points out, were important in defining an emergent middle class, but there are a few families which fit into this pattern, some of whom will be discussed in Chapter 4.[71]

Groover also effectively argues that the Gibbs family mediated between capitalist economic strategies and earlier, folk-based, non-capitalist social forms, a finding not dissimilar to that of Royden Loewen on Manitoba Mennonites.[72] Thus there are potentially numerous correlations between Groover's work and

this work on Indiana, primarily because it is clear from various sources that many of the people who worked in the mills and businesses of David Thompson also worked the land.[73] Analysis of historic documents and specific components of the material culture excavated at Lots 13, 14, and 15 allow insight into the diverse ways that Indiana residents developed economic strategies for family survival during the nineteenth century.

vi. The Historical Literature: A Select Review

The family economy is a complex and multi-faceted concept that incorporates overlapping themes, such as culture, placement in time, technological change, ethnicity, race, age and generation, the gendered composition of the family unit, and the family's socioeconomic location within the larger society. The English Canadian construction of the proper family was initially based on Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, white, middle-class standards and values that structured ideals to which all others should aspire. Such ideals included concepts of appropriate behavior that dictated how each family unit should work, what work members could perform and when it was, or was not, appropriate to work. Of course, the reality is that few actually lived up to that ideal for a variety of reasons. Moreover, over time, the ideas and values of the dominant white culture changed. Consequently, what was considered unacceptable at one time became acceptable in another.[74] In many ways families adapted their lives as much as possible to the dominant ideals of the time, also developing their own economic strategies in order to cope with periods of turmoil

and change. By utilizing a body of work that has viewed the construction of the family and the family economy in a Canadian context, the persistence of the ideal male breadwinner family model, and the kinds of changes brought about by shifting economic opportunities, will be highlighted.

Looking at family economic strategies in the nineteenth century, a number of historians argue for a view of an economy that was based on staples that were exported, an enterprise primarily controlled by men. Thus it was thought that men were the major contributors to the overall family economy.[75] Contrary to this view, Marjorie Griffin Cohen (1988) argues that women's productive activities were crucial to Ontario's economic development, from the dependence on staples through the transition to a capitalist/industrial economy. In particular, she argues, previous analysis ignored the importance of the household economy to the success and growth of the larger economy.[76] She stresses that, as women were able to produce commodities that could be sold in the market, thereby allowing women's work to be integrated into the public sphere of production, they clearly contributed in very important ways to the household cash flow and therefore to capital accumulation.[77] In her groundbreaking work, Cohen effectively demonstrates that by starting with the family, instead of the market, family strategies could be satisfactorily studied during periods of unstable market conditions.[78] Indiana underwent an enormous period of adjustment and decline in very challenging market conditions and Cohen's ideas will be important to this consideration of family strategies. It is necessary to explore the ways in which women negotiated the move from a subsistence economy through

industrialization and then to the later agrarian economy, in Indiana, over a span of just seventy years (Chapter 5).

Building on the notion that an industrialist capitalist labour market begins with understanding the family economy, Joy Parr, in *The Gender of Breadwinners* (1990) examines the lives and work of women employed at the Penman's knit-goods factory in Paris, Ontario, during the years 1880-1950, and compares them to those of the men who worked at Knechtel's furniture plant in Hanover, Ontario.[79] Parr notes that Hanover was an overtly male town, where male woodworkers were the breadwinners who asserted authority through their craft, self-sufficiency, rural connections and the "confidence gained through gender". The town of Paris was considered an anomaly because women were the breadwinners who needed to adapt their daily lives, by forging networks of exchange among neighbours and family, so that they could accommodate lifelong wage labour.[80] Like Cohen, Parr examines family strategies by looking at gender roles, both in terms of social constructions and lived reality, but she also considers the importance of ethnicity and class as issues that impacted the lives of workers. Her premise is that the rise of industry is not comprehensible through the story of the accumulation of capital and the recruitment of labour alone. By including domesticity and community in considerations of industrial capitalist development, and showing how gender and ethnicity are important variables, Parr opens new avenues in the study of women's work in Ontario. As such, this book involves a fundamental reconsideration of the social and economic changes that accompanied industrialization.

Although Parr's analysis is neo-Marxist and feminist in its approach, in the end she eschewed most traditional forms of analysis for the application of some elements derived from post-structuralist theories. She attempted to establish that any systemic approach that assumes that everything falls into one category or another, but cannot belong to more than one category at the same time, belies the wholeness of consciousness and experience.[81] There is little doubt that the same can be said of Indiana as the fluidity of actual lived experience in Indiana is perhaps one of the most exciting and challenging aspects of this study. The notion that capital and recruitment of labour alone are not sufficient to describe the rise of industry is apparent at Indiana. The varied family strategies for survival include a host of social and economic schemes and those are key elements of analysis in this study of Indiana, as developed in chapters 3-5.[82]

The idea that families required a variety of strategies to survive the rapid changes brought about by the advent of industrialization was explored in Bettina Bradbury's (1993) work on families in Montreal, in the years between 1860 and 1890. Central to Bradbury's study was the importance of historians' attempts to disentangle and understand the sexual division of labour within the family and to explore the complementary yet unequal nature of the roles that men, women and children played within working class families.[83] Thus, Bradbury's work differs from earlier studies because she includes a gendered perspective that considers the role of women in the family economy without relying solely on income that was generated from an unstable formal labour market.

Through an examination of a number of sources, including census data, Bradbury concludes that wages were the basis for survival for the majority of the urban population and that wage differences translated to differences in standards of living, education, and survival strategies. Had families been forced to live on the wages of the family's head alone, poverty and even starvation would have been chronic. Consequently, as a survival strategy most families required some contribution of work or wages from all members, according to their age and gender. A major characteristic of Montreal working-class families in the years of this study was the growing importance of wage-earning offspring who remained in their parents' home. In the nineteenth century, most married women in Montreal and other Canadian cities did not work outside the home for long periods, or at jobs that involved them from dawn to dusk. The lower the wages earned by other family members and the larger the family, the harder wives had to work to find ways to stretch, supplement, and even replace those earnings. Care of gardens and small animals were also tasks for women, whether wives or female children. In working-class families wage dependency locked wives and children to husbands and fathers in a relationship that was at once mutual and complementary, yet hierarchical and dependent. Finally, Bradbury notes that the nature of women's inequality and dependence was quickly exposed when a husband failed to provide, deserted his family, or died.[84]

Elizabeth Jane Errington's (1995) examination of working women in Upper Canada considered how the labour that women undertook, particularly wives and mothers, was essential to the family economy.[85] She stressed that it was not

just mothers who worked together for the betterment of individual households; the list included female children, single and widowed women and unrelated members of the community. Expanding on Cohen's scholarship, Errington argues that women worked together, often outside their homes, to assist one another in advancing their families thus creating a bridge between domestic and waged labour. There is little doubt that such was the reality in Indiana as many women lived and worked together in order to meet their economic and social obligations (see Chapter 5).

Errington's most recent work (2007) considers emigrants who traveled from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales to North America.[86] As in her earlier work, she argues that individuals frequently worked together, most often within family units, in order to succeed in the new world. The very process of emigration necessitated new ways of thinking and new ways of looking at the world.[87] Families provided kin, identity and home in otherwise "strange" and potentially difficult environments. Errington demonstrates that kinship ties and family networks were central to the survival of migrants to Upper Canada. Her findings support my own in that families sought to emigrate to Indiana as units taking on plural occupations and migration as conscious collective strategies for group survival and success.

Parr, Bradbury and Errington's work stretched the meaning of labour history beyond the narrow confines of the male breadwinner ideal to break new ground in Canadian working-class, family and gender history. My research indicates that in Indiana, some women were obliged to be the main providers,

earning wages to support the whole family and many families required all possible members to work for wages to jointly sustain the family economy. This re-examination of the male breadwinner ideal provides for a fuller revelation of daily life in Indiana (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Apart from the construction of family and the ever-present issue of the family economy, historians have considered issues surrounding class, ethnicity, communities and small-town life. In 1994, David G. Burley published his work on self-employment and social mobility in Brantford, Ontario. By Burley's definition, the self-employed held, through ownership or tenancy, the means of producing and distributing goods and services.[88] Arguing for class as an experience at a particular point in time rather than as a set experience, Burley used the town of Brantford to assess the impact on immigrants as they lived through a fundamental reorganization of the town economy, from self-employment to industrial and commercial enterprises, between 1830 and 1880.[89] This study advanced the notion that class division and conflict were not bred through the structure of society alone, but rather through changes in individual life-cycles. Since Indiana was geographically relatively close to Brantford and Burley's study covered some of the same years, it was believed that there would be benefit in comparing the two towns. Due to the differences in sample sizes and the seemingly large differences in the working populations, it has become apparent that this work is not as directly comparable as originally thought. It is clear, however, that Indiana residents knew both a subtle and an overt experience of class that involved a complex layering of gender, ethnicity, race, age and

opportunity that was missing in Burley's analysis. In examining Indiana it will be necessary to probe further than the life-stages of the self-employed, particularly since the vast majority of the population was labourers (chapters 2-5).

In her overview of Canadian domestic life between 1850 and 1940, Cynthia Comacchio (1999) elected to focus most of her work on three specific and pivotal events that she referred to as punctuation points: the Industrial Revolution, the First World War and the Great Depression. Against the backdrop of these world historic events, Comacchio highlighted some of the more influential issues that confronted families: Confederation, war, industrialization, women's suffrage, and social reform movements, to name a few. According to Comacchio the social changes left Canadians with the feeling that the family was in a state of crisis. Thus one thread that was woven throughout was the tension between those who believed that the crisis was ongoing and those who found ways to grasp opportunities by taking up the challenges that crisis conveyed. Comacchio looked at various kinds of families in Canadian society, including working-class and middle-class families, Aboriginal and Black families, French and Anglo-Celtic families and families that were recent immigrants as well as families that had been established in Canada for many years. She noted that families have always come in many shapes and sizes and that the variables that made families unique are also universal-- class, gender, region, race, ethnicity, religion and age.[90] In the end, Comacchio identified four major influences that reconfigured domestic relations in Canada during these years: economic changes, particularly the shift from domestic to factory production; demographic

changes, especially the decline in family size; changes in the socio-economic status of women; and the changing relations between the private sphere, represented by the family, and the public interest increasingly represented by the state.[91] There is little doubt that Indiana provides a tangible example of all four of these influences on family life, as demonstrated in chapters 2-6.

Peter Gossage's work on nineteenth-century families in Sainte-Hyacinthe, Quebec (1999) explores the various ways in which family units responded to local economic conditions and to a particular type of industrialization. Using the family reconstitution method of historical demographic studies, Gossage examined marriage patterns, household composition, and fertility with the intent of understanding the relationship between economic structure and demographic behaviour.[92] One of his conclusions was that families were divided by status, wealth, occupation and by the other indications of social class.[93] Further, Gossage states that the study of industrializing Canadian families involves a need to integrate a wide range of factors, including personal, social, ideological and cultural, as well as economic, into a balanced account of demographic and familial change during industrialization.[94] While there will be a few families examined in some detail in this study on Indiana, this work is community-focused and will consider a variety of social, political and economic, as well as ideological, factors.

Family life within the framework of the Irish community and family immigration to Canada are subjects that Donald Harman Akenson has investigated (1999). He noted the fact that the Irish formed the second largest

minority, behind the French, in Canada, with 78,255 Irish-born immigrants identified in the 1842 Census.[95] Although his study offers a general overview of the Irish in Ontario, he specifically focused on the adaptation of the Irish in Leeds and Lansdowne Townships. Perhaps the most intriguing element of this study is that Akenson provides evidence for the fact that being Irish did not necessarily equate with being Catholic, despite common assumptions. In fact, Irish Catholics made up 34.5 percent of the community in 1842 and 33.8 percent in 1871.[96] Further, an overwhelming percentage of Irish-born immigrants settled in rural and not urban environments, where, again counter to common belief, they flourished.[97] There is little doubt that Irish individuals and families did arrive in Indiana, particularly between 1830 and 1870. They were the single largest group in the town; in contrast to Akenson's findings, the majority were Catholic. Regardless of their religious affiliation, many of the Irish immigrants did indeed flourish in Indiana (Chapters 2-4 and Biographies).

Like Akenson, Bruce Elliott (2004) examined the Irish as individuals and in their communities. Elliott traced the life paths of 775 Protestant Irish families who left Tipperary and migrated to Canada between 1818 and 1855.[98] He selected a group from similar economic and cultural backgrounds. Elliott was interested in linking Irish and Canadian migration experiences to answer questions about the nature of immigration and settlement in both Ireland and Canada. He used the family reconstitution method that also included producing individual biographies.[99] One of his chief findings was that migration was part of an overall family economic strategy that primarily involved obtaining land and passing it along to

succeeding generations.[100] If that plan failed, migration to other locales was undertaken as a further bid to secure land and therefore the well-being of future generations. Elliott argued that individual betterment was not the goal as much as providing a secure start in life for succeeding generations.[101] He noted, consequently, that population turnover as an economic strategy was much higher than anticipated: about 60 percent of rural and urban populations, whether North American or English, left an area every ten years and were replaced by other people coming in.[102] Indiana also experienced a rising tide of in and out-migration between 1830 and the 1860s but shortly thereafter, the movement of people into the area slowed and then stopped, so that the population did not continue replacing itself. Elliott's study is helpful as it suggests that it should not be considered in terms of successes and failures but rather as an intentional strategy within the family economy. There is little doubt that this was the case in Indiana.[103]

Catharine Anne Wilson (2009) furthered the idea that migration was one avenue open to tenants and landlords alike, in her discussion about tenancy and the liberal idealization of land ownership. In an earlier work (1994) Wilson argued that tenancy made economic sense because it allowed migrants to assess the land before buying it. It also allowed them to save money in order to buy equipment and machinery, thereby beginning the climb up the "agricultural ladder".[104] In her most recent work, she notes that much of Western culture rests on the belief that holding property provides a means of obtaining wealth, power and independence while also serving as evidence of those status-markers.[105] Yet

tenancy remained an intentional and viable alternative to land ownership.[106] Rather than suggesting that migration was the result of tenancy gone wrong, she argues, both owners and tenants were highly mobile, sharing the common characteristics of smaller farms, less improved acreage and greater youth.[107] Wilson maintains, therefore, that there is a need to reassess ideas about the undesirability of tenancy in favour of viewing it as a vital, viable and important contribution to the overall economic development of individual farms, as well as regional and national markets.[108] Taking that perspective allows for a more complete view of the highly mobile tenant and landlord populations in Indiana. This idea will be explored in Chapters 2 through 6.

This study of Indiana entails a focus on the family with the intention of bringing to light the nature of the family economy, the impact of rural industrialization, and the ways in which artifactual evidence can contribute to social-historical understanding. The principal objective is to examine the history of family space and relationships using the Thompson household as a backdrop for the multiple class, race, age and gender-defined realities of life in Indiana. This study will examine the circumstances surrounding how and why Indiana rose so rapidly into prosperity, only to fall into obsolescence in a span of just seventy years. It will suggest that the answers lie in an application of both historical and archaeological methodologies to the sources by means of a careful layering of evidence. Although there are a number of historical studies, as discussed, that examine the Canadian family and working lives as these interacted in the family and market economies, as well as archaeological works

on the family and the rise of industry in the United States, there are none to date that combine a social history approach with historical archaeological methods to focus on nineteenth-century Ontario families in a rural-industrial setting. The interdisciplinary nature of this project, along with its emphasis on rural families and economic development in one town during this volatile transitional period, 1830-1900, will offer a fresh approach in the interests of contributing to the still relatively undeveloped historical study of Canadian families and industry.

Based on the archival and archaeological evidence that has been collected and collated, this dissertation consists of an Introduction that will launch the project, with particular emphasis on historiography, methodology and research questions. Chapter 1 provides a short biography of the elder David Thompson and his son David Thompson II. Although the Thompsons could be the entire focus, my interests lie in the people they directly influenced in Indiana either as their employees or as consumers of their goods. The second chapter focuses on those who lived or worked in Indiana during these years. The database that has been developed highlights such things as religion, education, occupations and country of origin. The third chapter looks at what the population surrounding Indiana was doing with its working and leisure hours. It considers such things as, religion, education, recreation, environment and landscape, policing, and alcohol consumption. Chapter 4 considers occupational opportunities for men and women and it looks at three different decades and how the town of Indiana changed over time. Chapter 5 delves into the private, often hidden elements of life in Indiana, and considers such things as families and

family survival strategies, gender, and the prospects for Black, Indian and Irish workers. Chapter 6 is a case study of Lots 13, 14, and 15 by means of a material culture analysis. Through an assessment of the artifact assemblage that was excavated in two archaeological digs, relevant economic and social data are emphasized. Chapter 7 looks at the larger questions about Indiana and beyond. It considers why Indiana failed when other towns survived and how Indiana can be viewed as representative of other industrializing towns in the nineteenth century. Finally, I will conclude with a summary of my findings and questions for future research.

Endnotes

[i] For the sake of clarity and consistency, 'Ontario' is used hereon to refer to the area known from 1791-1840 as Upper Canada, from 1841-1867 as Canada West in the United Province of Canada and from 1867 on as Ontario. Douglas McCalla *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 3.

[2] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich was interested in interpreting material culture in such a way as to foster imagination, and therefore new possibilities, in old stories. Pierre Bourdieu has argued that the senses of the body store historical and cultural knowledge. Joy Parr has argued that it is possible to access and retrieve this sensory history because the body is not only a product of culture but also the forming instrument with which culture is made. Richard Cullen Rath has said that the sound of a bell reproduces an old sound just like documents reproduce old thoughts. Taking these ideas together, it will be one goal of this work to attempt to bring some of the townspeople to the fore through stories and anecdotes about their lives that will also illustrate the sights, sounds, smells and activities of life in Indiana. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun, Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 43: Pierre Bourdieu, "Habitus", *Habitus: A Sense of Place, 2nd Edition*, (Eds.) Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), 49; Joy Parr "Smells Like?", *Environmental* History, Vol. 11, Issue 2, 5; Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 3.

[3] Richard Reid, "The Rosamond Woolen Company of Almonte: Industrial Development in a Rural Setting", *Ontario History: the Quarterly Journal of the Ontario Historical Society*, Vol. XXXV, No 3, (Sept 1983), 266.

[4] See for example: Daniel Samson, (ed), *Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800-1950*, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994).

[5] Charles L. Redman, Steven R. James, Paul R. Fish and J. Daniel Rogers, (eds) "Introduction: Human Impacts on Past Environments", *The Archaeology of Global Change: The Impact of Humans on Their Environment*, (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 1.

[6] Extracts from Mr. Molesworth's Report, "Grand River Navigation", *Grand River Sachem*, November 20, 1867.

[7] *Gazetteer and Directory of County Haldimand, Indiana*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 67.

[8] Bruce Emmerson Hill *The Grand River Navigation Company*, (Brant: Brant Service Press, 1994), 6; Hill wrote that the company was incorporated in 1832 with joint stock capitalized at *L*50, 000. In David Thompson's *General Journal 1834-1849*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, he noted his own purchase of 2000 shares of stock in 1832, for which he paid *L*12, 500, thereby making him a quarter shareholder in the company. He was also a director of the company that year; Hill, 1994, 109.

[9] *Gazetteer* 1867, 68; Molesworth, *Grand River Sachem*, Nov 20, 1867.

[10] William Kingsford, *The Canadian Canals: Their history and cost with an inquiry into the policy necessary to advance the well-being of the Province*, (Toronto: Rollo and Adam, 1865), 82. Note: William Kingsford was a civil engineer, in the office of the Registrar of the Province of Canada.

[11] *Gazetteer*, 1867, 107; *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Counties Haldimand and Norfolk*, (HR Page and Co, Toronto, 1877), 5; Drawn from an examination of my own work on the *Names and people who lived in Indiana and Deans* and the extraction of data from 1831-1840. In the tables I

generated, it was possible to note the years and occupations of individuals in Indiana; Hill, 1994, 129.

[12] *Gazetteer*, 1867, 75; For further information on the unskilled labourers on the canals see: Peter Way, "Shovel and Shamrock: Irish Workers and Labor Violence in the digging of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal", *Labor History*, 30(4) (1989), 489-517; Charles E Orser, Jr. "The Illinois and Michigan Canal: Historical Archaeology and the Irish Experience in America", *Éire*, 27(4) (1992) 122-134; Daniel E Bender, "An uneasy Peace: Irish Labor on the Farmington Canal", *Connecticut History*, 35(2) (1994), 235-262; Angèle Smith, "Fitting into a New Place: Irish Immigrant Experiences in Shaping a Canadian Landscape", *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Netherlands, 8(3) (2004), 217-230; Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840's" In: *Canadian Working-Class History: Selected Readings, 3rd Edition*, (eds.) Laurel Sefton Macdowell and Ian Radforth, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006), 28-51; *Gazetteer,* 1867, 69.

[13] *General Journal 1831-1837*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga Ontario; The typical grist mill was rectangular in shape but they often had additions, such as the *wheelhouse,* a necessary appendage for Upper Canadian mills where the climate was extreme. Sealed off from the mill, they were heated by various methods to keep the water wheel ice-free. The layout of the building was commonly as follows, "On the first floor or stone floor the millstones were hung A small room was partitioned off as a mill office where a desk, chair, shelves for catalogues, business correspondence and mill accounts were filed. The upper floors were open, arranged with machinery according to the flow plan of the millwright. Grain cleaners, flour bolts, hopper boys, grain and flour storage bins and flour packers were all strategically located. Linking one machine with another and storey to storey were flour and grain elevators, spouts or chutes, conveyors, drills and so on if the mill had been automated. Trapdoors improved the passage of furnishings since stairs were too narrow and steep. Guards were required by law after 1838 to protect the public from accidents caused by revolving pullies, belts, shafts and gears. Construction materials used for mills varied; often the first mills were wood on a stone foundation. Round or squared timbers, plank, clapboard and later board and batten were used. Building materials became more varied as time progressed... The style of mills during the period was governed by functional considerations. Roofs were usually gabled, (81) sometimes gambrelled or hipped. Often dormers were included to illuminate the loft, and sometimes a clerestory was incorporated. Windows were casement or double-hung for light and ventilation. When there were no water-wheel house enclosing vertical wheels, fewer windows were located on the side facing the wheel to shield the mill from dampness and cut down noise from the wheel. A pulley hoist was usually located at or near the roof's ridge on the side where delivery wagons unloaded grain and machinery. This façade and sometimes other contained doors on each storey through which machinery was hauled since mill stairs were narrow and impractical." For a fuller description of mills in Ontario, see: Felicity L Leung, *Grist and Flour Mills in Ontario: From Millstones to Rollers, 1780-1880's*, (National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Hull: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1981); *Gazetteer Indiana*, 1867, 69; *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Counties Haldimand and Norfolk*, (Toronto: HR Page and Co, 1877), 5.

[14] A number of studies have highlighted masculinity and the expected place that men held within society. See for example: John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Stephen M. Frank *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth Century American North*, (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1998); Anthony E. Rotundo *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

[15] This figure is based on a chart I generated that listed the population changes from 714 in the 1830s, 225 in the 1840s, to 606 in the 1850s, to 766 in the 1860s, to 493 in the 1870s, to 207 in the 1880s, to 64 in the 1890s. It must be noted that it is extremely likely that the population was higher than the population I could locate within available historical documents.

[16] *Indiana Land Registry Records*, Cayuga, Ontario, 8-9; The Presbyterian Church in Indiana was begun by Thompson I, but he stipulated in his will his wish that his executors "shall finish the Presbyterian Church now partially erected near my present Residence", David Thompson, Last Will and Testament, Feb 18, 1851 (Ontario Archives, microfilm, Court of Probate, RG 22-155, MS638 (68), Estate Files 1793-1859).

[17] There are a number of references to the ball field in the Thompson Papers. See for example a letter to the editor of the *Sachem,* May 9, 1864, from "Conscience"; Complaint made to Thompson II, JP April 26, 1866, Artifact Room, Col ATT metal trunk, 8, #2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Like the ball field, there were numerous references to the horse track. See for example: Barbara Martindale's column For what it's worth "The Indiana saga Unfolds" *The Sachem*, date unknown; *Gazetteer, Cayuga*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 94.

[18] From the Ontario Sessional Papers 32 Victoria 1868-69 (31), there is a report on the "Return of the Number of Tavern Licenses issued in each County, City, Town, or Incorporated Village, in detail. Also, the name of the party to whom issued, and the name of the Issuer for each County, with the amount received from such Licenses to date." The report is dated January 6, 1869. In Haldimand, JR Martin was the issuer of licenses. For further reading on this topic, see: Julia Roberts, *In mixed company: taverns and public life in Upper Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003).

[19] John R. Triggs, *Wherefore Indiana? Doing Archaeology and History in a 19th Century Mill Village*, (unpublished manuscript, 2004), 2.

[20] *Gazetteer and Directory of the Counties of Haldimand and Brant*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867).

[21] From a letter, attic pigeonhole 57, #18 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; John worked for David Thompson between 1835 and 1837 as a labourer as detailed in *General Ledger 1834-1849,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.
The Thompson Papers at Ruthven Park contain a large selection of documents, each of which is catalogued first with where they were found, for example, the above example was found in the attic in pigeonhole letter slots, each of which were numbered sequentially. Then each document was given a number and each document also noted if it was the front or back of the document. In addition, there were a number of ledgers and account books which were also named for easier identification.

[22] Floreen Ellen Carter, *Place Names of Ontario*, Volume 1, (London: Phelps Publishing Company, 1984), 562. There have been other sources that claim that the Indiana post office was first established in 1837. See *Gazatteer and Directory of the counties of Haldimand and Brant*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 107.

[23] Receipt from Henry Barton to David Thompson detailing "Specifications of Castings for Grist Mill, July 21st, 1837 at Indiana", RP attic pigeonhole 12, #8, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga, Ontario.

[24] From a list of "Postmasters and post offices", Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[25] See: attic pigeonhole 57, #17 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[26] From a list of "Postmasters and post offices", Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[27] GT Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield with Brian Van Nostrand, *Ontario Central Places in 1871: A Gazetteer Compiled from Contemporary Sources*, Research Report 13, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1990), 10.

[28] Elizabeth Bloomfield and GT Bloomfield *Patterns of Canadian Industry in 1871: An Overview based on the First Census of Canada*, (Department of Geography, Guelph: University of Guelph, September 1990), 11.

[29] The Lower Grand River Trust is a non-government volunteer organization, incorporated in 1994, as custodian of Ruthven Park National Historic Site. The mission of the Trust company is to "conserve, maintain and promote Ruthven Park's rich cultural and natural heritage through research, interpretation and education for the enjoyment of present and future generations." From: Mission statement found on Ruthven Park National Historic Site Website, www.ruthvenpark.ca,

[30] R. Wood, (ed), *The Agrarian Myth in Canada*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975), 7.

[31] Gerhard J. Ens *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 6.

[32] Ens, 1996, 6.

[33] For more on this issue, see Chapter 4.

[34] Ens, 1996, 173.

[35] Ens, 1996, 6.

[36] This is a central theme of this work and I will be providing a full accounting of this in chapters 2-4.

[37] Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840's", *Canadian Working-Class History, Selected Readings, 3rd Edition*, (eds.), Laurel Sefton Macdowell and Ian Radforth, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006).

[38] This was noted by Kenneth Michael Sylvester, *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870-1940*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 5.

[39] Canada, Department of Agriculture, *Manual containing the Census Act and Instructions to Officers*, Sessional Paper 64, (Ottawa, 1871).

[40] Sylvester, 2001, 5.

[41] Terry Crowley, "Rural Labour", In: *Laboring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (ed) Paul Craven, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 44.

[42] Giorgio Riello "Material Culture and historical narratives", (ed.) Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2009), 37.

[43] Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 8.

[44] Clark, 1990, 10.

[45] Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in nineteenth-century New England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 11.

[46] The expression *lifeway* is a fairly new technical term that is not yet in most general dictionaries and for which most textbooks instead still use "way of life". It is, however, in common usage in cultural anthropology. The *American Heritage Dictionary* defines a lifeway as: "A customary manner of living; a way of life." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lifeway

[47] Marvin Fisher, *Workshops in the Wilderness: the European Response to American Industrialization, 1830-1860*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 13.

[48] This was a central concept in Peter Gossage, *Families in Transition: Industry and Population in Nineteenth-Century Sainte-Hyacinthe*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), xvi.

[49] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd Edition, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 1265; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1684.

[50] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 39.

[51] For a more complete discussion of material culture and the evidence it leaves behind, see Chapter 6.

[52] Tamara Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), xi. Hareven was one of the earliest to consider the impact of American industrialization on immigrant labourers but there were others who followed with studies about Canadian immigrant histories. See for example: Bruce S. Elliott *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, (Kingston & Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1988); *A Nation of Immigrants: Women Workers and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s – 1960s*, (eds) Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); *English Immigrant Voices: Laborers' Letters from Upper Canada in the 1830's*, (eds) Wendy Cameron, Sheila Haines and Mary McDougall Maude, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, (eds) Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta and Frances Swyripa, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Hareven, 1982, xiii.

[53] Hareven, 1982, 367.

[54] There are numerous examples of Indiana residents who enjoyed individual time outside of industrial time. For example one resident, John Farrell, was a handball champion, *Grand River Sachem*, 10 Oct 1866, and he was owner of champion race horses, Mary Nelles' notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga. There are many other examples of people who spent time drinking at the local pubs and participating in musical events. Some even helped raise money for instruments in a local Brass band, "Concert, Reunion and Dance" *Grand River* Sachem, March 4, 1866; see chapters 4 and 5 for further details.

[55] Harpers Ferry was important because "19th century Harpers Ferry was one of the country's earliest and most significant industrial communities. From 1796, the town was the site of the United States Armory, an early American experiment with new industrial ideals." Paul A. Shackel *Culture Change and the New Technology: Archaeology of the Early American Industrial Era*, (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1996), 1; Shackel 1996, chapter 2.

[56] Another example of a Canadian merchant who sought a balance between his religion, his family, his business and his community was W Normal Rudolf (1835-1886). See: B. Anne Wood, *Evangelical Balance Sheet: Character, Family, and Business in Mid-Victorian Nova Scotia*, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2006); I can give numerous examples here but the history

speaks for itself on this. The construction of the church was begun during the elder Thompson's life but was finished after his death under the direction of his son David Thompson II. There are also a number of references to both men's involvement as treasurers for the local schools. See *School Section Number 8, Indiana – Minute Book of the school*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga. For more information on education and churches in Indiana, see chapter 3.

[57] Paul A. Shackel: *Places in Mind: Public Archaeology as Applied Anthropology*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2004); *Memory in Black and White : Race, Commemoration, and the Post-bellum Landscape*, (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003); *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001); *Archaeology and Created Memory: Public History in a National Park*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2000); *Culture Change and the New Technology: An Archaeology of the Early American Industrial Era*, (New York: Plenum Publishing, 1996).

[58] Shackel, 2001, 1; Peter Seixas has described public memory as a combination of the immediacy of individual memory and the sites of common or collective memory. He argued that public memory is built and maintained through a range of structures, symbols and practices, including statues, commemorations, place names and symbols. Without the maintenance of the underlying supports, memory of a particular event or person fades from public consciousness. As such, Seixas is arguing some of the same things that Shackel argued. See: Peter Seixas "What is Historical Consciousness?" (ed.) Ruth Sandwell *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 11.

[59] Ruth Sandwell has noted the same issue in Canadian history. She contends that some of the key questions historians are asking include "Whose history *counts*? What people, events, and issues get to be included in social studies and history classrooms? Who and what are left out? And who decides those things?" See: Ruth W. Sandwell "Introduction: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada", (ed) Ruth W. Sandwell *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 3.

[60] Personal communication with Marilynn Havelka, Chief Administrative Officer, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, 243 Hwy. #54, Box 610, Cayuga Ontario, 2006.

[61] Personal communication with Marilynn Havelka, Ruthven Park, 2006.

[62] The most helpful documents were those associated with the Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga, but I also utilized the resources found: the Archdiocese of Toronto, Anglican Church Archives of Ontario, Toronto; Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga; St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Archives, Caledonia; The United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria College, Toronto. In addition to the archives associated with Ruthven Park, there was a considerable un-inventoried library of books that I utilized in my research, as well as books located through the University of Toronto libraries and the libraries associated with all three local universities.

[63] Undergraduate students, in Archaeology, are required to participate in an excavation for credit. They attend a school in the field for 6 weeks and they learn to map, dig, record, clean and assess the artifacts they have uncovered.

[64] Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, Third Edition, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 245; Hodder, 2003, 6.

[65] George L Miller, "Classification and Economic Scaling of Nineteenth Century Ceramics", *Historical Archaeology*, 14, (1980), 1-40

[66] Suanne Spencer-Wood "Introduction", *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, ed., Suzanne Spencer Wood, (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1987), xi.

[67] In this revision Miller did not change the actual method he pioneered but rather he added considerable data on various ware types and therefore expanded the possible CC indexes. More importantly, Miller acknowledged a main critique of his method and he altered it to represent "minimum vessel counts" as opposed to using single sherds of pottery. See: George L. Miller, "A Revised set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880", *Historical Archaeology*, 25(1) (1991), 1-25.

[68] Stephen Mrozowski, Grace H. Ziesling and Mary Beaudry *Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell Massachusetts*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996). In addition to this book there are a series of books on the Boott Mills complex known as *Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills Lowell Massachusetts,* Vol. 1, Vol. 2, Vol. 3, North Atlantic Regional Office, (National Park Service, US Dept. of the Interior, Boston, 1987 and 1989), as well as various articles written by all three of the co-authors.

[69] Stephen Mrozowski, James A Delle and Robert Paynter "Introduction", *Lines that Divide: The Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class and Gender*, (eds) Delle, Mrozowski and Paynter, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), xviii.

[70] Mark D. Groover, *An Archaeological Study of Rural Capitalism and Material Life: The Gibbs Farmstead in Southern Appalachia, 1790-1920*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 4.

[71] David G. Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); There were Protestant families that seemed to fit this ethic in Indiana. Last names include: Barry, Brown, Dochstader, Duncan, Hutty, Kirkland, McClung, Mitchell, Murdoch, Shipway, Stephenson (Stevenson), Wilson and Young. However, there is little doubt that some of the Roman Catholic families in Indiana also appear to fit that model. For example: Farrell, Finlen, Kerrott, Long, Lynch, Martin, McClory, McKenna, McMullen, Murray, and Walsh.

[72] Groover, 2003, 10; Royden Loewen, *Family, Church and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850-1930*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). In this book, Loewen considered the strategies utilized by the ultra conservative Mennonite group to safeguard its separateness from the more "worldly" and secular society. He pointed out some of the ways that the outside world influenced the community of Mennonites and some of their responses to these influences.

[73] There are multiple examples of this as it is clear that people did all kinds of work to make ends meet. In my list of Indiana residents this will be seen with the following people: Alexander and Charles Barry, Miles Finlen, Hugh Gilmore, Peter and William Hutty, John Lynch, James McCue, Wills Murdoch, Thomas Upton, Jacob and James Young - see Chapter 4.

[74] There is little doubt that society changes its rules of acceptability depending on whose eyes the dominant culture was viewed. For scholarship on this issue see: Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003); Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*, (New York: Routledge, Press, 1995); Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993); Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth Century Canada*, (Toronto: Women's Press, Published for the Osgoode Society, 1991); Mary Poovey, *Uneven*

Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

[75] In an unusual move, Douglas McCalla has taken a broader perspective and has argued that focusing on staples alone is oversimplified and is inherently inaccurate. Indeed, he stated that production for household consumption and local markets was at least as important as the export market in staples. Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

[76] Marjorie Giffin Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 3

[77] Cohen, 1988, 156.

[78] Cohen, 1988, 7.

[79] Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

[80] Parr, 1990, 230.

[81] Parr, 1990, 231.

[82] The residents of Indiana appear to exhibit similar survival strategies as other people who were going through massive social and cultural changes associated with Industrialization. There are many cases where individuals held multiple jobs over a period of only a few years. It is clear that they were merely eking out a living for themselves and their families. For example, Miles Finlen, who was 48 years old and the father of eight children in 1861 according to census records, was a labourer, tavern keeper, innkeeper, farmer and teamster between 1860 and 1864. His jobs were often overlapping. In the 1850's he worked as a labourer and in later years he mostly kept to tavern keeping but he still laboured as necessary for wages. See*: Appendix A: Biographies.*
For a completely different perspective on working-class experiences in Canada see: Bryan Palmer *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the history of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991,* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992). Palmer looked at the working lives of individuals but his emphasis was on the working-class experience as a whole in Canadian labour history rather than on specific segments of society. In this study Palmer considered a variety of theoretical perspectives, the most prevalent was a Marxist approach, but he was most interested in considering the "totality of working-class experience" rather than focusing on unions and political platforms as earlier labour historians had done. Additionally, Palmer wove the thread of paternalism throughout his book. He argued that father figures abounded in leadership roles in every region of the country and he suggested that those who owned the land, capital and means of production were able to sway workers to do their bidding through kindness as well as through discipline. Fine examples of this sort of paternalism are found in both Thompson men.

[83] Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, gender and daily survival in Industrializing Montreal*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1993), 16.

[84] Bradbury, 1993, 214-220.

[85] Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[86] Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Emigrant Worlds and Transatlantic Communities: Migration to Upper Canada in the first half of the Nineteenth Century*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

[87] Errington, 2007, 11.

[88] Burley, 1994, 6.

[89] Burley, 1994, 11.

[90] Cynthia Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 5.

[91] Comacchio, 1999, 149.

[92] Peter Gossage, *Families in Transition: Industry and Population in Nineteenth-Century Sainte-Hyacinthe* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 5.

[93] Gossage, 1999, 178.

[94] Gossage, 1999, 10.

[95] He maintained that the number was actually an under-representation. Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, 2nd Edition, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 15.

[96] Akenson, 1999, 27.

[97] Akenson, 1999, 242, 353.

[98] See: Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canada's: A New Approach, Second Edition*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press), 2004.

[99] Elliott, 2004, 4; Royden Loewen was interested in considered the migration of 18,000 Mennonites from Russia to Canada and the United States in the 19th century. His work was both a community study and an individual one as he was interested in discerning how closely the migrant population stuck to the old ways in Russia. He found, unlike Elliott, that this group transplanted themselves and did not attempt to create new methods of daily survival. In other words, they did not move outside of their own communities and they were not a highly mobile group. See: Royden Loewen, *Hidden Worlds: Revisiting the Mennonite Migrants of the 1870's*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001).

[100] Elizabeth Jane Errington furthered this concept in her recent publication wherein she argued the emigration was a family affair and the decision to say or go depended on kin relations and family dynamics that provided emotional and financial support. Errington, 2007.

[101] Elliott, 2004, 241; Other scholars have argued similar points. See: McCalla, 1993, 9; RW Sandwell, "The Limits of Liberalism: The Liberal Reconnaissance and the History of the Family in Canada", *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 84, No. 3, 2003, 423-450.

[102] Elliott, 2004, 247.

[103] See chapters 3-5.

[104] Catharine Anne Wilson, *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 7.

[105] Wilson, 2009, 5; Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow provided an important background for this topic in their work *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario: Structural Patterns and Cultural Communities in the 1871 Census*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

[106] Wilson, 2009, 9.

[107] Wilson, 2009, 203.

[108] Wilson, 2009, 220.

Chapter 1 Life Stories: The Town and the Thompsons

Strong leadership skills have long proven to be an asset in business, politics and social arenas. There is little doubt that the introduction of industry into a formerly pastoral environment must have taken vision, acumen and solid managerial aptitude as well as financial resources. The business and personal histories of the two Thompson men, David Thompson and his son, also David, are inextricable from the history of the town of Indiana, Ontario. Singly and together, they orchestrated, guided, and took active part in the development of Indiana. Yet, despite their undoubted influence, in the end, neither man left behind businesses or structures to survive them. The only real sustaining evidence of their presence and the roles that they played in Indiana's history is Ruthven Park itself. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that the Thompson men dramatically influenced the rise and fall of Indiana and the people who lived and worked there.[1]

i. David Thompson I: The Early Years

David Thompson's father, James Thomson, was born in the town of Hawick, Roxburghshire, Scotland, on 8 July 1752.[2] Before leaving his homeland, he was furnished with a certificate by the minister of his congregation, which read as follows: "This is to testify that James Thomson, a single unmarried man, is about to leave our midst. He is a man of unblemished character, so far as we know."[3] James Thompson immigrated to the Niagara district of Upper Canada in 1785, where he met and married Margaret Emerick in 1790.[4] David Thompson

was born 4 February 1793, in Stamford, Upper Canada. He was the second of ten children.[5] James Thomson was said to be "a stern old Presbyterian", who was also a man of enterprise. James built his own brick house with the help of his sons: together they baked the bricks composing it and hued the rafters.[6] Margaret died on 30 August 1830, aged 60 years, while James outlasted her by little more than a year. He died on 22 November 1831 at 79 years of age, having lived well beyond the typical life expectancy for a man of this time.[7]

David Thompson was 19 years old when the War of 1812 broke out. He joined up and was quickly promoted to Sergeant in the 2nd Regiment of the Lincoln Militia.[8] In his own words, he helped to repel "the invading foe at Queenston, Beaver Dams, Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, Fort Erie," also participating in "the taking of Fort Niagara, Black Rock and Buffalo."[9] At the battle of Lundy's Lane, on 25 July 1814, he sustained a head wound.[10] By the war's end he had risen to the rank of Lieutenant as well as serving as the Regimental Adjutant, a job that meant Thompson controlled all paperwork and correspondence on behalf of the Lieutenant Colonel.[11] Thompson evidently continued his duties with the militia; well after the war, on 9 March 1824, he was promoted to the rank of Captain.[12] During the Rebellion of 1837, Thomas Thompson wrote a letter to John Thompson, claiming that their brother David was going to the front line with his company.[13] Thompson's grandson Andrew told a story regarding an incident in the Rebellion that involved the elder David Thompson:

> The country was bitter over the 1837 Mackenzie Rebellion and the Tory mob of so-called loyalists, furious over the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill, stoned the Governor General Lord Elgin, and burned the House of Parliament in Montreal. Grandfather was in

> the buildings when the mob broke in. He wrenched a rung from a banister and fought his way out.[14]

After the Rebellion, on 19 August 1841, Baron Charles Sydenham promoted Thompson to the rank of Major; on 2 September 1844, Thompson received the rank of Lieutenant Colonel from the hands of Sir Charles Metcalf.[15]

After the war of 1812, David Thompson settled in Wainfleet, an area in the southern Niagara region bounded on one side by Lake Erie and on the east side by the Welland River; the northern and western boundaries were not as clearly defined.[16] Here Thompson was the proprietor of a general store, a miller, distiller and lumberman, and a contractor on the nearby Welland Canal; the latter role reportedly laid the foundation of his fortune.[17] Among his many duties, while working for William Hamilton Merritt on the Welland Canal, was taking care of the accounts and wages of the labourers on the Deep Cut, a feeder canal between the Welland Canal and the Grand River.[18] The completed feeder canal was large enough to accommodate horse-drawn barges and schooners loaded with cargoes of lumber and wheat.[19] The dam subsequently constructed by the Welland Canal Company at Dunnville, which Thompson contracted with his brother Archibald's help in 1829, allowed for a 9-foot increase in the level of the Grand River.[20]

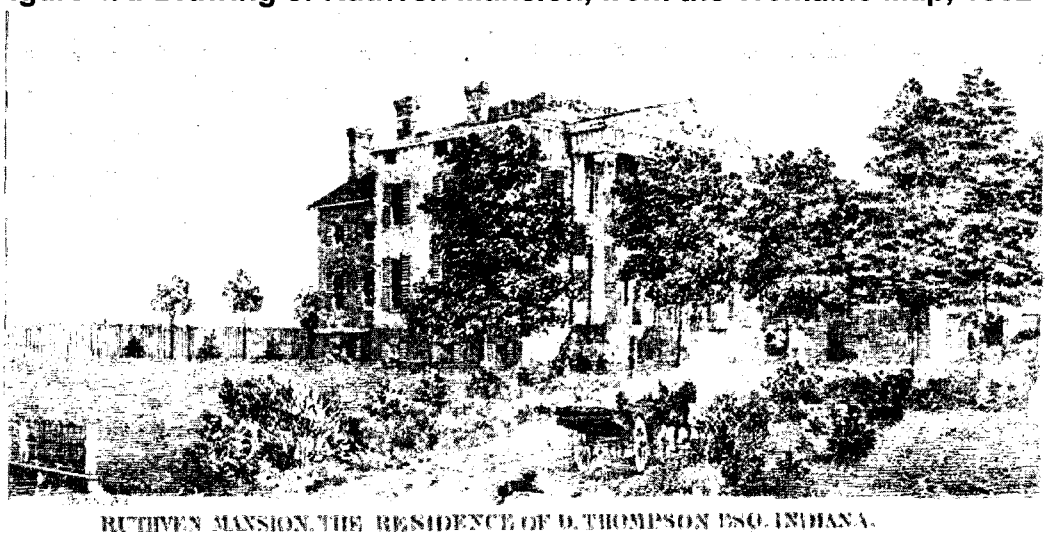
Although Thompson was successful in the Wainfleet area, he saw the potential for huge profits in the waterway that was proposed along the Grand River. When Cayuga North Township was opened for settlement in 1831, he was among the first settlers, securing mill sites Number 1 and 2 on the Grand River at the first rapids.[21] By the time Lock No. 1 was constructed at Indiana, Thompson

was establishing water-powered grist, saw and carding mills adjacent to the Lock, as well as other smaller businesses, including a cooperage.[22] In 1843 and 1844 he built the lodge and stables associated with the land he farmed.[23] On 18 January 1845, Thompson paid the Crown "579 pounds, five shillings and five pence of lawful money"[24] for 431 acres of land, designated as Lots 1-5, on the front concession on the Grand River, in the Township of Seneca.[25] On 5 May 1845, Thompson printed handbills in which he stated that he was looking for

> A Competent and Responsible Person or Persons... For the building of a large Brick and Stone House, Out-Houses etc. at Indiana. For the making of 100,000 first-rate stock, and 100,000 Pressed Bricks... For the Clearing off and Fencing 100 acres of Land... For the quarrying and delivery of 300 Cords of Stone... Also, for 10,000 Fine Saw-Logs.[26]

He subsequently erected a very large house that he named Ruthven,[27] on land adjacent to Indiana, which totalled 1188 acres by February 1851.[28] According to his grandson Andrew, son of David Thompson II, Ruthven was "a stately mansion, a home so far exceeding in site and dignity the homes for miles around

Figure 1A: Drawing of Ruthven Mansion, from the Tremaine Map, 1862[29]



RUTHVEN MANSION, THE RESIDENCE OF D. THOMPSON ESQ. INDIANA.

that it was called the castle and the pioneers came from miles around to see what many of them regarded as 'Thompson's folly'."[30]

Before discussing the building of the canal system along the Grand River, it is appropriate to discuss why David Thompson might have thought that a canal was a good idea in the first place. First, it was believed to be considerably cheaper to transport goods via waterways than by land, particularly when roads were either non-existent or poorly maintained.[31] Indeed, merchants, military personnel, traders and governments all pushed for navigable highways.[32] Second, the entrepreneurs of this developing province would have anticipated the need to move lumber, beef, pork, flour, whiskey and other goods along improved transportation routes.[33] Finally, the area along the Grand River was seen to be an excellent site for resource extraction; it was described as having an "inexhaustible supply of timber" and the quarries along the river banks were said to contain a very pure white gypsum plaster.[34] With such inducements, there is little doubt that David Thompson was well aware of the economic opportunities that building a canal could bring to the area and to his own coffers.

ii. The Grand River Navigation Company

David Thompson was one of the founding members of the Grand River Navigation Company (GRNC), which first met in Brantford in 1827.[35] William Hamilton Merritt was the driving force behind the building of the Welland Canal and initially the chief promoter of the Grand River Canal Company. He had trouble securing the money for the new canal project, due to a general reluctance

among local entrepreneurs to invest in such costly transportation projects. There was also the problem of land ownership, because the lands adjoining the Grand River belonged to the Six Nations, who also opposed the project.[36] In the end, the GRNC managed to obtain 551 acres of land for the purpose of erecting dams, locks, waste weirs, towpaths, machinery and mills, 360 acres of which originally belonged to Six Nations. Government officials mediated the dispute between the Six Nations and the GRNC by setting the price per acre of land that the GRNC was interested in purchasing.[37] In order to offset the land costs, the GRNC backers hoped to finance operations by charging tolls for the use of the waterway.[38] Although they did eventually generate some cash by charging tolls, the company's position remained precarious, and the debt that the land acquisition created for the GRNC was a problem for its entire history.[39]

Due to William Hamilton Merritt's persistence, in 1832 the GRNC received its charter, which authorized the directors to raise £50,000 in capital by selling 8,000 shares.[40] Thompson and Merritt initially held 2,000 shares each, or 25 percent of the stock, in the company.[41] The Six Nations Indians constituted the third largest shareholder in 1832; they also held nearly one-quarter ownership in the company, with 1,760 shares.[42] The shares were said to have been purchased on their behalf by the government of Upper Canada because they were thought to be a good way of providing for the Six Nations in the future. They were probably purchased without the Six Nations' knowledge.[43] The remaining quarter of company shares was held in varying amounts by 58 investors.[44] Interestingly, by 1835, in a complicated deal made by the government on behalf of the Six

Nations, the Natives purchased an additional 4,000 shares from various stockholders.[45] By 1843 the Six Nations had again purchased shares, bringing their total to 6,121 shares in the company. Having invested the sum of *L*38, 000, at this point they owned just over 75 percent of the company.[46] While the GRNC was witnessing a significant change in ownership over the early years, the company was in need of cash. Its administrators generated the necessary funds by borrowing heavily from the Municipality of Brantford, which advanced them a considerable loan.[47]

There were eight locks in total built on the Grand River waterway in order to overcome shallow waters and rapids. Locks were waterproof chambers with moveable gates at each end that allowed for water to be admitted at one end to raise the water levels and removed at the other end to provide a means by which the vessel could leave the lock and continue safely along the river.[48] The first lock at Indiana had to overcome a fall of 8 feet; the second lock, in York, had a fall of 5 feet, 9 inches; at Sims Lock, which was the third, there was a fall of 8 feet, 6 inches. The lock at Seneca had a fall of 5 feet, 9 inches and the lock at Caledonia had a 7 foot, 6 inch fall. After Caledonia, the river was reasonably navigable until Brantford, at which point there were three locks, built by the city of Brantford, with a total fall of 11 feet.[49] To put those numbers in perspective, in 1829 the 10 foot lift of each lock on the Welland canal used 13,000 cubic yards of water.[50] Such a figure provides a small idea of the engineering feats required to deal with the shallow waters on the Grand River.

The building of the five locks owned by the GRNC began in 1833. Each was 116 by 32 feet, built of rubble stone with timber bonded through them. There were also horizontal timbers built on the face of the walls, and timber on the floors.[51] The lock walls were from 6 to 6½ feet thick at the base, and 5 feet thick at the top. The inside face of the walls was protected by planking spiked to timbers and built into it.[52] All five locks were placed on rock foundations.[53] It must be noted that this type of log construction was common where timber was plentiful and water supply was constant.[54] The lock gates were made of timber with a small circular hole cut through the plank of each gate, 18" to 24" in diameter, which was utilized as a valve for the output and intake of water. The abutments were formed of timber filled with stone and gravel, while the main structure of the dam was built of logs and timber. Dam No 1 at Indiana presented a unique engineering challenge because it was divided into two sections separated by a large island. The east section was 184 feet in length, while the west section was 185 feet.[55] Although the first five locks were finished by 1836, the last three locks of the Brantford Canal did not officially open until 6 November 1848, just five years before the first railroad reached the town.[56]

The work of building these locks was carried out by largely unskilled labourers, some of whom came from the Erie Canal to Canada, but most of whom were Irish immigrants.[57] The work was back-breaking and was primarily accomplished by men who dug, hauled and quarried by hand, although sometimes with the help of horses and basic equipment.[58] The GRNC's main boast was that its locks were drained by wheels propelled by the current of the

river with an excavator attached to a shaft. It was estimated that fifty barrels of water could be raised in one minute by this method.[59]

In addition to the building of canals, in 1837 the crown provided the patent for a towpath, one chain wide,

> Along the north easterly margins of the Grand River from its point of intersection with the northerly boundary of the Township of Cayuga to Dam number 5 on the said River through all such lands as are now in occupation by the Indians along the bank or margin thereof, and have not been granted or otherwise disposed of, containing 36 acres more or less.[60]

These towpaths, narrow strips of land along the river bank, were used by horses to pull barges along the river when they were going against the current.[61] The towpaths also harboured employees of the company who lived in shanties, as well as entrepreneurs who erected stores and mills beside them.[62]

Before railways, the navigable river systems in Ontario were an important means by which freight and passengers could be moved.[63] Once the Welland Canal and the GRNC were in operation, freight could be moved to Buffalo, St. Catharine's, and beyond with relative ease.[64] Freight shipping began on the newly-constructed waterway in 1836 and passenger service began in 1842, with the first steamer, known as the *Brantford,* providing service from Brantford to Dunnville.[65] Thompson's brother Andrew held the license to sell "Wine, Brandy, Rum or other Spirituous Liquors" on board the *Brantford* between 1843 and 1846.[66] The steamer *Brantford* was eventually joined by the *Messmore.* Both traveled at a speed of six miles per hour and the fare was one pound.[67] There were two other passenger paddle wheel steamers travelling the Grand River between Brantford and Buffalo in the 1850's, the *Queen* and the *Red Jacket.*[68]

The fare for the complete trip was three pounds for cabin and two pounds for the deck. The boat carried a crew of 13, serving up to 40 passengers.[69]

The organization of the GRNC revolved around the annual stockholders meeting, during which five directors were elected, all of whom were required to live in the province and possess a minimum of 20 shares in the company. The directors then elected a President and appointed various officers such as a Solicitor, Agent, Secretary, Treasurer and Engineer.[70] David Thompson was a director of the company in 1834, 1840 and again in 1841.[71] After Thompson sold most of his shares in the GRNC to the Six Nations in 1843, he backed away from the running of the company.[72]

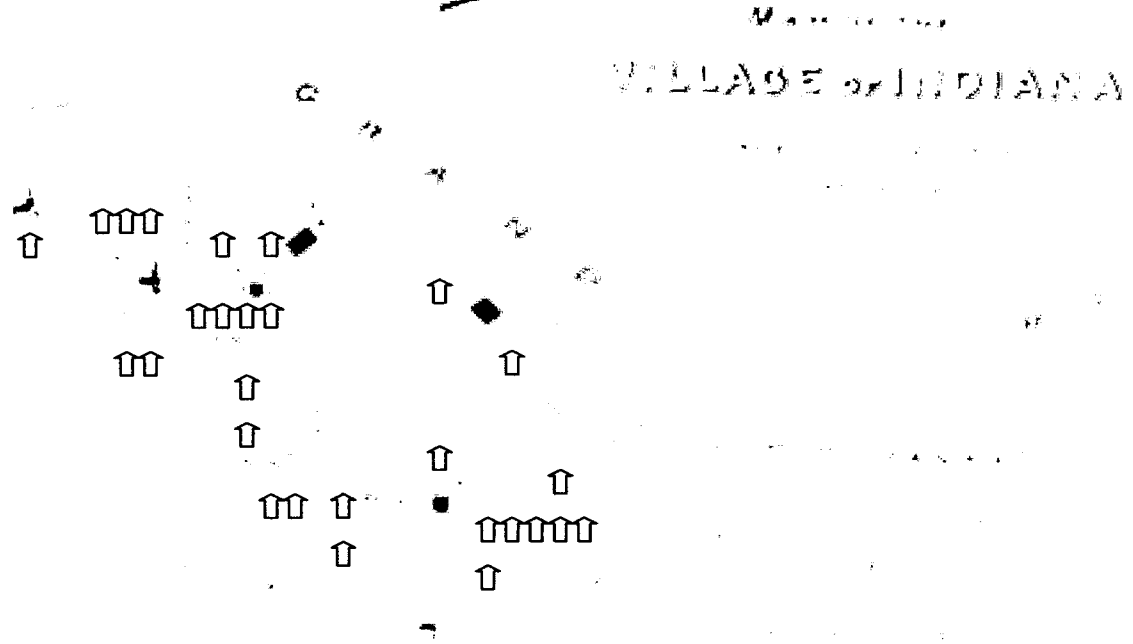
In that same year, 1843, Thompson chaired a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. He questioned Samuel P. Jarvis, Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs about the town plot of Indiana. Jarvis explained that his job was to determine how to "procure the surrender of all the Lands on the Grand River, not actually required for the Indians."[73] When Thompson himself was questioned during this committee hearing, he stated that the land reserves in the town of Indiana, "would not sell, except as farm lots, for 500 years to come."[74] Indeed, he did his best to devalue the town of Indiana in all of his addresses to the committee. It is unclear whether Thompson's declarations were intended for personal gain, in that they would set the value of the land low enough for Thompson to buy it himself, or whether he had considerable foresight about the future of the town that he had founded. Either way, in 1843, Thompson seems to have publicly distanced himself from both the GRNC and Indiana.

After many years of borrowing and trying to keep the company solvent, in 1859 the GRNC directors concluded that their financial situation was "hopeless". At this point, the directors told the Brantford town council that they should essentially "take the works". Brantford council reluctantly did so, and foreclosed on the loans that the town had granted to the GRNC. After the Town of Brantford took the canal company to court to retrieve its losses, in 1861, the citizens of Brantford became the owners of the Grand River Navigation Company.[75] When the books of the GRNC were opened, it was obvious why the company had not succeeded: the capital costs were simply too high. The books made it difficult to ascertain the actual amount originally expended in the construction of the navigation, but it could be fairly estimated that, during the 28 years of its operation, the company had laid out the sum of $400,000 for the construction of the locks.[76]

Not even the sale of its property helped keep the GRNC afloat. Between 1841 and 1861, the GRNC sold, assigned or lost to bankruptcy lots 1-117 and all six mill sites in Indiana, which were all carefully plotted on the town map drawn up by William Carrol on 9 June 1846.[77] It certainly could be argued that Indiana was initially envisioned as a company town, primarily owned and operated by David Thompson, with row houses and plans for parks and a town square.[78] But the reality was that, by the early 1840's, when the GRNC faced financial problems, Thompson had divested himself of ownership in the company and eventually personally purchased 23 of 117 lots from the GRNC. He also purchased Lots A, C and D, as well as 3 Mill Lots.[79]

Other individuals also acquired the lots that came up for sale in Indiana when the GRNC began divesting its property. Viewed over its entire timespan,

Figure 1B: Map Showing Location of Property Owned by David Thompson



Indiana cannot be effectively described as a single business enterprise governed by a paternalistic owner who followed a set plan for development; rather, it was a town that contained numerous and varied small rural-industrial businesses. Moreover, the census documents reveal that, of the houses that existed between 1861 and 1881, 82 were made of frame (70%), 32 of logs (27%), and 3 of stone (3%). There were also evidently houses made of brick, as evidenced by the insurance that was taken on the Hutty home, a 2-storey brick house, in 1876.[80] Thus, if Indiana began as a company town, and if the houses initially looked alike, a point that has not yet been determined conclusively, it is obvious that the eventual construction of the houses was not identical. Further, since only about

50-60 of the lots ever had houses placed on them in the seventy-year history of the town[81] and the population numbered 714 in the 1830s, clearly there were not enough houses built by the GRNC to accommodate the population.[82] Because Indiana was not a large town with factories and mills devoted to a single industry, it cannot be regarded as a typical company town.[83] Like many company towns of this period, however, Indiana too was eventually abandoned and forgotten.[84]

iii. David Thompson I: After the GRNC Debacle

Although the historical record is strongest on David Thompson as a public figure, it is possible to piece together something of his private, domestic role. On 15 September 1825, Thompson married Sally Ann Wilson, an heiress in her own right, in Pelham, Upper Canada.[85] They had five children: two of their sons, David (1830-1836), and Walter (1833-1836), died in childhood, while the family was in Wainfleet.[86] Thompson wanted a namesake, and after the death of his first son David on 18 March 1836, in keeping with Victorian custom, he named a second son David.[87] Three of the Thompson children lived to adulthood: James (1823-1854), David (1836-1886) and Eliza Jane (1826-1877).[88] On 1 June 1840, Sally Anne Thompson died, at six minutes past ten o'clock in the morning, at age 36 years, five months and 17 days, after "a protracted illness of 112 days close confinement to bed".[89] Although Sally never lived at Ruthven, she was buried in the Thompson family cemetery in Indiana on 1 July.[90] David Thompson never remarried.

Thompson did not limit himself solely to business dealings in and around Indiana and with the GRNC. As early as 1832, he began buying and selling

properties in the counties of Simcoe, Welland, Grey, Zorro, London, Wellington, Lambton, Lincoln, and Haldimand.[91] He further branched out his financial interests and became one of the directors of Gore Bank in Hamilton in 1839, where he worked alongside Adam Ferguson, Colin C Ferrie and James Whyte. Thompson not only took on a leadership role with the Gore Bank, he was also a large shareholder in the company.[92] After Thompson's death, in 1868, a suit was brought forward from the estate of Richard Brown, against the estate of David Thompson, for dividends on stock in Gore Bank. The suit alleged that David Thompson wanted more power on the board of directors of the bank so he bought and paid for stock, but placed it in the hands of his friends, specifically in Richard Brown's hands, and that Brown was willing to vote as he was told. After their respective deaths, due to uncertainty about the stock's ownership, the dividends were not paid for some years. The accumulated dividends in question amounted to $1,200 and the bank was ready to pay whomever the court decided was the rightful owner. Although the court admitted that the practice of buying votes was considered fraudulent and contrary to the charter of Gore Bank, it was decided that the impurity of the transaction died with Mr. Thompson.[93] Brown's heirs, however, were entitled to the stock and dividend.[94] Such a posthumous revelation of the elder Thompson's conduct might have shocked some, but probably not all who really knew Thompson.

Given his ambitious nature, it is not surprising that after Thompson's wife died in 1840, he announced to his brother that his plans to run for election in the national political arena. His letter stated that his feelings were "strictly British" and

that he would champion the causes of schooling and roads.[95] As Douglas McCalla has noted, in this society, those who desired influence tended to gravitate to politics.[96] When Thompson decided to run for office, he wrote an appeal to the People of Haldimand, on 20 January 1841, in which he used his powers of persuasion to ask for their votes.[97] He also made it very easy for those who were eligible to vote to get to the voting station, paying their expenses to and from their homes during the election.[98] Following the union of Upper and Lower Canada, on 14 June 1841, Thompson was elected to the first Parliament as the member for Haldimand County; he held his seat as a Reformer for ten years until his death.[99] Those eligible to vote at this time were a relatively small and homogeneous portion of the population. Specifically, the enfranchised were male, as it was decreed, among other things, that the polling stations were too dangerous for women. Because they had to own a certain amount of property, and immigrants who were not British subjects could not own land prior to 1844, even many men could not vote. Further, the amount of wealth needed for eligibility changed numerous times, so that men were sometimes deprived of the right to vote once they had already obtained it. Finally, all other conditions being fulfilled, the vote was nonetheless withheld from those of particular ethnic (Jewish) or religious (Catholic) origins.[100] Only those owning properties of a sufficient value, who met the criteria of "true self-possession", were given the vote.[101] In short, Thompson, like other political aspirants of his time and society, had to make his appeal to voters who were like-minded in political terms, but also had much in common in their economic and social standing.

This was not Thompson's first political foray. David Thompson was a Magistrate, or Justice of the Peace, and was first sworn in as Magistrate for Niagara, in Toronto, on 7 April 1836 by Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson.[102] He held this position continuously from that date until his death. However, it was the practice of the court to reconfirm these appointments from time to time. As a result, on 22 June 1846, Thompson was again sworn in as a Magistrate by Robinson, reaffirming Thompson's legal right to dispense justice.[103] Thompson held this position during a time in which police, justice and courts in Upper Canada were almost non-existent. In addition to policing small communities, until 1841, justices of the peace, who were appointed by the lieutenant-governor, also attended to the administration of local affairs. The justices usually met four times a year at the Court of Quarter Sessions for these purposes.[104]

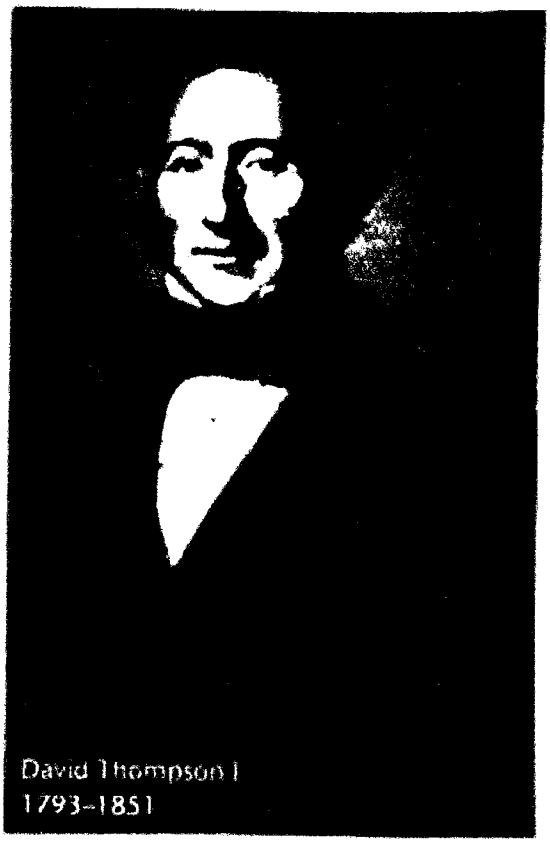
In his role as Magistrate, Thompson was asked to intervene during an uprising of workers on the Welland Canal in the 1840s. Thompson's quick thinking was apparent. As T.C. Keefer, engineer in charge of workers on the Welland Canal, described it,

> Some five thousand navvies were hard at it. Most of these were Irish, from the United States, with a great love for whiskey and a great hate for England. One day, after receiving their pay, they went on a glorious jamboree, and decided to take it out on Canada, since Canada was a British colony. The local forces of law and order were quite inadequate, and the people of the neighbourhood were terrified.[105]

A small band of regular Coloured troops under White leadership could not contain the mob. Since the Riot Act had to be read by a civil authority before further actions could be taken, Keefer sent for Thompson. He arrived and read

the Riot Act, but it had no effect: "A big red-bearded fellow jumped in the air and shouted 'kill the nagurs'. But Mr. Thompson stepped forward, pointed to the rioter and said to the officer in charge 'be good enough to shoot me that fellow'." The crowd quickly dispersed and Thompson had the ringleaders arrested.[106] The David Thompson brand of justice was revealing of his strong character and fearless leadership, as well as his attitude to those he considered his inferiors in race and class.

Figure 1C: Portrait of David Thompson 1, Ruthven Mansion, Cayuga



Thompson, in the end, can easily be classified as a paternalistic early capitalist, very much a man of his class and his times. In keeping with the recognized characteristics of this social group, Thompson cultivated relationships

on the basis of his ownership of valuable resources and thus his ability to attract men who lacked them, thereby creating a relationship that included reciprocity and mutual dependence but not equality.[107] The necessity for a large and dependable workforce was probably the chief incentive for Thompson to form these patron-client bonds, although he would also have expected political support in return for his assistance and favour.[108] A clear example of this sort of relationship was that which was developed by Thompson and Richard Brown. There is no question that he believed that he was obliged to take care of those who lived and worked in his domain. As a lifelong member of the Presbyterian Church, although not a religious man himself, Thompson I had a small Presbyterian church built, which was intended for the use of all Protestants in and around Indiana.[109] By taking this position, he underscored what historian S.J.R. Noel referred to as the patron role; these men reinforced their role through intertwined political ties, kinship, ethnicity, religion or some other combination denoting social responsibility.[110] Since Thompson was also prominent in both local and national levels of politics, as well as being influential in economic and social affairs in Upper Canada, and he held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the army, such roles further reinforced his patron-client relations in Indiana, and also the paternalistic mantel that he donned in his community.[111]

There are other family stories that shed light on the sort of man that Thompson was. His grandson Andrew said that he had a "powerful physique" and was always a strong leader: "When lumbering operations were at their height when the spring freshets were on, and the ice going down the river, he would

seize a pike-pole and jump waist deep into the freezing water to shepherd the logs; his men could do no less."[112] Perhaps because he took such risks, Thompson frequently suffered maladies that affected his ability to work. In 1834 Thompsons brother Andrew, in a letter to their brother Archibald, explained that Thompson had been taken home from Indiana because he was very sick;[113] Andrew had stressed that if David did not get immediate care, he would not live long. He added that Thompson had a physician with him constantly. The medical issue was diagnosed as inflammation of the lungs.[114] In 1838, Thompson himself wrote to inform his brother Archibald that some family members were sick with "the Fever and ague".[115] A few years later, in July 1841, he reported that he was recovering slowly from "a sick bed" and he was still "quite feeble".[116] That month he also wrote of frequent headaches.[117] On 17 January 1843, Thompson had a will drawn up in which he declared that he was "Calling to mind the uncertainty of life and being weak today but sound in mind..."[118] Although such language merely followed contemporary legal custom, neither of the two wills he had drawn up, either before or after this one, used such phrasing that referred to his own condition.

Thompson must have been aware of his deteriorating state of health. On 16 March 1844, he once more wrote to Archibald, indicating that he had been ill several times during that winter: "I am 45 years old and the dawn of life is drawing to a close."[119] Despite continued poor health, he persisted. On 13 April 1849, he wrote to his son David that he had "got better", although he did not specify what was then ailing him.[120] A letter to David Thompson II, December

1850, found him evidently happy to report that "It has pleased the Almighty to end the suffering under which I labored and to so far restore me that I am able to attend the office a part of the time."[121]

According to his grandson Andrew, throughout the later 1840s, his grandfather was a dying man and must have known it. "His was a lingering and fatal malady," as Andrew recollected.[122] The Reverend Ferrier, minister of the Presbyterian church that Thompson had been instrumental in establishing, observed that Thompson was often heard praying fervently during his last severe illness.[123] Thompson had a codicil added to his will on 20 February 1851, in which he bequeathed his gold watch to his son David. He died in his home at Ruthven the following day, at the age of 58 years.[124] Thompson was described in an obituary as a "bustling, calculating and successful man".[125] Given that his property was probated at $489,739.00 after his death, the obituary was a fitting description of such an influential individual.[126] Yet, as his grandson observed,

> Had he lived to nearly eighty, as did his brother Andrew, had he lived to more than ninety, as did his brother Archibald, what would this man have accomplished? Had he even lived till his son David achieved manhood, to have educated that son in his own business methods, what would the fortunes of our family have been? It is an interesting speculation, - we should possibly all have been enormously rich, probably dissolute and morally worthless, almost certainly less happy than we are today, I, for one, have no regrets.[127]

iv. The Heir and Successor: David Thompson II (1836-1886)

The younger David Thompson was about ten years old when Thompson I moved his family into the newly-built Ruthven mansion in 1846, but it is evident that the family was living in Indiana before that. In October 1843, James Murray

of Indiana, a labourer who worked for both Thompson men between 1843 and 1869, wrote to the elder Thompson while the latter was attending Parliament in Kingston: "I told Master David that I was writing to his papa, asked him what I should say of him - he told me to say that he was a good boy - and he really is so. He is in a class of seven - frequently at the head - he studies his lessons night and morning generally without being reminded of it."[128] He was evidently personable as well as virtuous and intelligent; when he was a young man, an Indiana resident, known as Widow O'Toole, described him as "a broth of a boy, more like a proper Irishman than any long-faced Scot."[129] Whatever his merits, Thompson II was said to have been better educated than his own father, as he attended William Tassie's school in Galt, which was reportedly the best boys' school of his day.[130] He completed his schooling at the prestigious Upper Canada College.[131]

James Thompson was the oldest surviving male child of David and Sally Thompson, and consequently, according to custom, should have been the designated heir. But he had a problem with alcohol, which reportedly brought about his demise on 9 July 1854 at the age of 25 years, 8 months and 8 days.[132] Due to his eldest son's known difficulties, Thompson I had willed his estate to David, bypassing James. David Thompson II was only 14 when his father died in 1851. His father's will stipulated that he would not receive his inheritance until he reached the age of majority at 21 years. Until then, the estate was managed by the elder Thompson's executors, Samuel B. Freeman of Hamilton, Andrew Thompson of Port Dover, Colin C. Ferrie of the City of Hamilton, Archibald

Thompson of Stamford, and David Thorburn of Queenston.[133] The younger David Thompson would not see the transfer of assets to his name until 7 December 1857.[134] He married Elizabeth Stinson of Hamilton the following year, on 9 September 1858, at Christ's Church in Hamilton.[135] David and Elizabeth Thompson had six children: Emily (1859-1860), David III (1865-1905), Elizabeth (1865-1876), Walter (1867-1940), Andrew (1870-1939), and May (1876-1926).[136]

According to Andrew Thompson, son of David Thompson II, problems with alcohol also afflicted his father, although seemingly not as seriously as they had his uncle James. As he said of his father, "living in a community given to hard drinking, is it any wonder that he himself fell victim to the deadly habit, and for a time seemed to be heading for destruction." Unlike his brother James, however, Thompson II managed to come to terms with his drinking problem and became a total abstainer before reaching the age of 30 years, thereafter banishing liquor permanently from his home.[137] His political supporters were not pleased with his espousal of abstinence.[138] Perhaps that was because, as Donald Akenson has argued, alcohol was important to survival for people so isolated and distant from one another: "Annual per capita consumption of spirits in Canada, calculated in 1869, was well over a gallon a year for every man, woman and child, and this included only legally manufactured spirits."[139] In fact, in 1867 in the Township of Seneca, there were 11 tavern licenses issued, 4 of which were in, or very near, Indiana.[140] Thompson's decision was not popular with guests in his home because "hospitality without drink was considered no hospitality at all."[141]

In spite of the unpopularity of his stand on alcohol consumption, the evidence suggests that David Thompson II was a more generous and kind-hearted man than his father. Thompson II donated money and goods to churches of every denomination in the area, including the Hamilton Sisters of Charity.[142] According to his son Andrew, he took his personal religious duties seriously. Indeed, "a solemn walk around the grounds was the peak excitement we were allowed on the holy day... Of course we were prohibited boating, and as for fishing something so wicked was never even thought of." As an elder in the Presbyterian Church, there is little doubt that he felt it necessary to set a good example for his children and the townspeople at large.[143] In addition to offering money to Christian churches, he often donated money to destitute individuals who lived in and around Indiana. It was his practice to give 25 pound bags of flour to the widows in Indiana at Christmas.[144] In December 1861 he gave $1 to a destitute woman at a time when a nurse at Ruthven earned $2.50 for a month of her labour.[145] He also donated fifty cents to the orphan boy who lived at the Spencer home in 1866. He donated $4 to Thomas Bird to aid in rebuilding his house razed by fire, and twice gave 50 pounds of flour to the Coloured Tea Meeting to raise money for them.[146] While his father also adhered to a code of paternalism in his relations with employees and other townspeople, the younger Thompson seemed to be more compassionate in that respect, and certainly more personal in the manner of his giving. A propensity for generosity was one of the traits noted when David Thompson II's head was measured and assessed by W.G. Moncrieff, a noted phrenologist, in 1858. Moncrieff's "reading" found that

Thompson's head was large, and showed strong domestic propensities, low selfish propensities, and moderate-to-low "observing and knowing faculties". Although the Victorian craze for phrenology was soon disputed, curiously, it seems that many of Moncrieff's findings of the test at least somewhat accurately capture the character traits of Thompson II.[147]

Figure 1D: Portrait of David Thompson II, 1836-1886[148]

In spite of his generosity, like his father, Thompson was not easily duped by those who tried to cheat him. One example of this was found in an incident in which two young boys were driving a horse and cart full of goods along a narrow road. Reportedly the horse was spooked; it ran across the bridge at Indiana, whereby the bridge collapsed and the horse and cart fell into the river. The father of the two boys went into Thompson's office and spoke to his clerk Alexander Macduff, who then wrote to Thompson in Ottawa:

> He wanted to see you to see if you would give him enough in the shape of charity (as he called it) to buy an old plug of a horse for to make a living. He recited the usual old story: a sick wife and a large family and not now worth two cents. The boy was along with him. I asked the boy particulars of accident. He could tell nothing only the horse got scared and he could not hold him. I said to the father that he was foolish to trust a spirited horse to so small and young a boy.[149]

Eventually the man tried to sue Thompson II for the value of the goods, estimated at $300, blaming the loss on the poor condition of the bridge and claiming that Thompson was responsible because he had not repaired it. [150] Since Thompson was in Ottawa at the time of the incident, he relied on Macduff's testimony on the matter. In the end, he believed that the man was trying to swindle him.[151] His reply to the legal letter sent to him on the matter emphatically stated that he was "Repudiating all liability and you are informed the accident in question occurred entirely at the driver's negligence."[152] The man did not receive any money and the incident was considered settled.

Like his father, Thompson II was involved in policing and the dispensing of justice. In 1866, he helped to organize a Home Guard for the protection of Indiana residents "from the probable ravages of lawless scoundrels." He was then unanimously elected Captain of this home-grown community police force.[153] He not only assisted in policing Indiana but, like his father, he was the local Magistrate for many years.[154] Also like the elder Thompson, he did militia duty: Thompson II was a Major in the 37th Haldimand Battalion of Rifles, which saw action in the 1870s during several Fenian assaults.[155] Most important, he followed his father's political footsteps on the provincial level as well. In 1863, at the age of 26, Thompson II was first chosen by ballot to serve as the Member for

Haldimand, on the Clear Grit ticket.[156] On 12 June 1867, on the eve of Confederation, Thompson wrote an open letter to "The Independent Electors of County Haldimand" in the *Grand River Sachem*, thanking them for nominating him as their candidate in the upcoming election, and setting out his plans for the new nation-state and its government.[157] He was subsequently elected as the first member for Haldimand County in the new Parliament of Canada and he continued to serve Haldimand as a Liberal Member until his death in 1886. Interestingly, in 1878 when Sir John A. Macdonald was appealing to the country on his National Policy during the election that year, most of the Reformers lost their seats in Parliament, but David Thompson II retained his.[158]

In addition to national politics, Thompson II was involved locally in various organizations. In 1860, he was elected as the secretary-treasurer for School Section No 8 Indiana (SSNo8) and he managed the Clergy Reserve for the trustees. He was also responsible for hiring the first teacher, James Callinan, for the section.[159] He was still involved with the school system in 1880 as a trustee; in 1883, he accepted a grant in his role as treasurer of SSNo8, Indiana.[160]

A number of enterprises spanned the lives of both Thompson men. In March 1835, William Fell and 36 others petitioned the government for *L*300 to construct a bridge across the Grand River at Indiana. Permission to form a company to that end was given by the government in February 1840, but it took some time to get the project moving.[161] On 7 September 1848, Thompson I subscribed *L*100 toward the building of the Indiana Bridge.[162] The first bridge was finally completed in 1851, only to be washed away in the early spring flooding of

the following year.[163] In early May of that year, 1852, David Thompson II was listed among the original stockholders when the Indiana Bridge Company sold public shares to build a new bridge.[164] On 2 June, the deed for Lot D, Indiana, was registered for the Indiana Bridge by authority of an Incorporation Treasurers Certificate.[165] On 16 June 16, Dodds and Rutherford, carpenters from Indiana, were given the contract to build the bridge for 475 pounds.[166] Thompson's executors secured the mortgage for the new bridge, which would span 500 feet across the river.[167] The bridge required repairs in 1855 due to damage done by the scow *Seven Brothers* when it hit the bridge as it went downstream.[168] Some of the costs were offset by the collection of tolls charged to those who used the bridge to traverse the river.[169]

In 1860, when he was 24 years old, Thompson II was elected President of the Indiana Bridge Company.[170] His duties included overseeing further repairs to the bridge, including the installation of 1232 feet of lumber in 1861 and 768 feet in 1862.[171] Over the years the interest was not paid on the mortgage secured by the Indiana Bridge Company, however, and in 1863, Thompson II assumed the mortgage himself and paid it in full.[172] In April 1865, the bridge again required repairs due to damage from ice on the river.[173] Barely one year later, in March 1866, the *Grand River Sachem* reported that, "Owing to the late thaw, the water in the Grand River has risen very rapidly and the ice passing down has completely destroyed the Indiana Bridge."[174] Although there were petitions brought forward to rebuild the bridge, and even an attempt to raise the funds, the

Indiana Bridge Company had ceased to exist by January 1867, when Thompson and the Board of Directors put the bridge up for sale under public auction.[175]

In 1871, Thompson II became President of a new enterprise to be known as the Haldimand Navigation Company (HNCo). Along with Thompson, Alexander Taylor and William Lofty Hicks of Caledonia, Thomas Martindale and Adam Alexander Davis (who was the Secretary and Treasurer) of York, and John Donaldson of Mount Healy, petitioned the government for a charter for this new company. According to the Company's letters patent, "The purpose of the Company was to improve the Works (Dams and Locks) on the Grand River for the Navigation of scows and Hydraulic purposes."[176] At the meeting of 25 April 1871, George Hacon was appointed overseer and General Manager of the Works of the Haldimand Navigation Company at a salary of $500 a year for three years. At the same meeting, the Secretary was instructed to advertise for tenders to erect a swing bridge across the lock at Indiana, to which both Thompson and local distiller George Kirkland subscribed money in 1872 and 1873.[177] The total capital needed to make the Haldimand Navigation Company viable was $10,000. Thompson contributed $3000, and with contributions from other stockholders, they raised $8500.[178]

The Haldimand Navigation Company purchased the rights and property of the old Grand River Navigation Company, including Indiana Lots 13, 14, 34, 65, 7 7-79, 81-85, 89, 91, 93, 97, and 110-111, between 1871 and 1874.[179] Due to the expanding railroad system there was less demand for water transport, however, and the company decided to maintain only the lock at York because it supplied

water power to a number of mills; the rest were left in various states of disrepair.[180] The company had difficulty making headway with their mandate of improving the locks. In March 1879, the Secretary of HNCo declared that bankruptcy rumours were unfounded, and insisted that the Company was ready to meet any claims against it. But in 1880 the last lock at York was abandoned and the Haldimand Navigation Company was no more. [181] Thus Thompson's personal efforts and financial contributions amounted to nothing, and the Indiana lots owned by the HNCo were put up for sale.[182]

Apart from his local investments, Thompson II was also involved with various regional companies and organizations. He held shares, which he inherited from his father, in Gore Bank. The Gore Bank merged with the Canadian Bank of Commerce on 12 May 1870, and Thompson II remained an active participant in the continuing development of the bank until his death in 1886.[183] He was president of the Haldimand Agricultural Society in 1867, an organization to which he belonged for many years.[184] And just prior to his involvement in the HNCo, in 1871, he became chairman of the Committee of Mill Owners on the Grand River. The group was seeking legal advice on their rights with Grand River Navigation.[185]

In 1875, Thompson II purchased shares in a new Hamilton enterprise the Canada Fire and Marine Insurance Company, which was formed by John Winer, a wholesale druggist.[186] Thompson was immediately placed on the board of directors of the company and elected as vice president, a position he held each year until February 1880, when he declined the nomination.[187] Although

Thompson transferred a great deal of his insurance business to this company in the early years of its operation, there were instances of conflict between him and Canada Fire and Marine Insurance.[188] When he applied to have a planing mill insured with the company in 1880, he was declined due to lack of precedence on such ventures.[189] He also complained to the company about their practices, including over-insuring people. The company sent him a note thanking him for his comments.[190] By the end of 1880, Thompson began selling off his shares and using other companies for his insurance needs.[191] In this regard, Thompson demonstrated a certain foresight. In March 1884, Canada Fire and Marine Insurance Company declared bankruptcy, and there were attempts to force the shareholders to pay its debts.[192] Looking back over his long and varied career, there is little doubt that the younger David Thompson's leadership, involvement and investment were sought in a variety of business ventures and organizations, local and regional. His compassion and drive were essential elements of his personality that he demonstrated in his business relations, as he sought to follow the example of, and build upon, his father's legacy.

v. Construction Projects

Although energetic and active in pursuing business interests, David Thompson II was ultimately neither as gifted an entrepreneur as his father had been, nor as fortunate. He attempted many costly repairs of mills and dams that his father had built as well as a few new projects on his own, but none were lasting or financially viable to the same degree as those of Thompson I. In

addition to the different opportunities open to the senior Thompson because of the colony's intensive development during his lifetime, Thompson II appears to have been less inclined to risk his capital in new ventures, such as the application of steam power, that were expensive to initiate but represented the way of the future. In spite of the availability of new sources of power, such as steam, he did not attempt to incorporate the technology into the running of his mills; he continued his father's use of water power even though it was costly, seasonally dependent and fast becoming obsolete.

Both Thompson men made a great deal of money from the operation of Ruthven Grist Mill. Consequently, a break in the dam that supplied the power to run the mill, or any problem with the mill itself, entailed both the cost of repairs and the loss of income. In 1863, the water power was cut off for two months and ten days, so that new guard gates could be installed on the dam.[193] Although the actual losses incurred at the mill are unknown, it can be noted that the revenue generated on the gristing of wheat over the same two months, across a ten-year span, ranged from $600 to $2000.[194] The potential loss from gristing barley and oats over the same period ranged from $6 to $1400, depending on the year.[195] Considering that these figures do not include the gristing of bran, rye, malt or corn, the loss of income when the mill was not in operation was likely to be significant.[196]

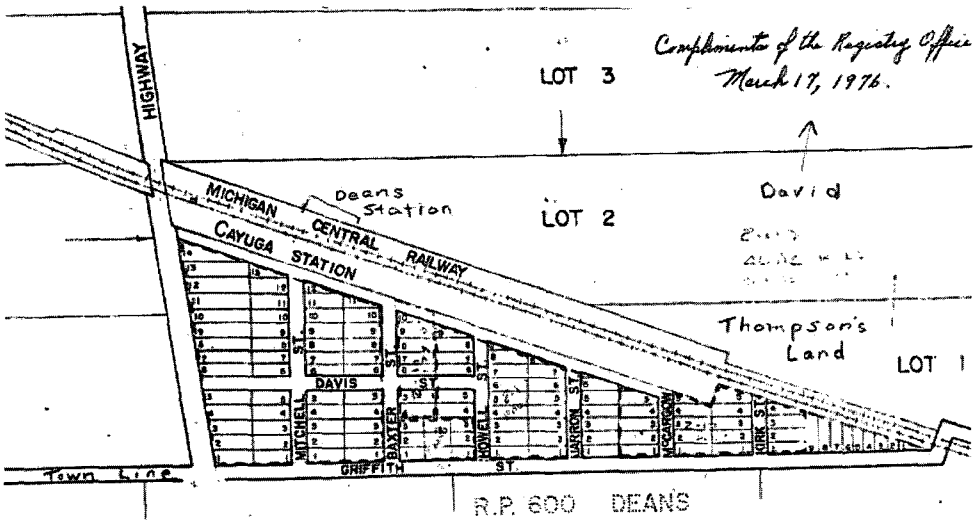
In the *1867 Gazetteer*, Ruthven Mill was described as having a "frame 60x30 feet, water power, three run of stone; capacity 300 barrels a day, exclusive of custom work; cooperage in connection;" it was insured that year for $4000.[197]

Due to the potential for huge profits in a mill working to its maximum, it is not surprising that Thompson II paid a considerable sum of money to fix, repair and update the mill and the machinery involved in the milling process. In 1860 he paid John Scott, iron founder of Caledonia, to construct a new water wheel.[198] In 1870 he hired John Robertson, millwright, to oversee the project of overhauling Ruthven Mill itself. This work required the skills of six carpenters, one blacksmith, two men with their teams of horses, one mason, one painter and six labourers. It also required the raw materials from four lumber merchants as well as new castings, elevator cups, stone and a new smut machine.[199] The project cost a total of $2815.72.[200] In addition, Thompson purchased a 4 foot-3 inch Central discharge waterwheel, new shafts, collars and pulleys from Thos. Wilson and Company for the sum of $321.58.[201] Since the mill did not operate for two months and 28 days, there was not only a considerable financial loss to Thompson but also to the workers he employed in Indiana, which in turn, would have affected the economy of much of the town.[202]

Notwithstanding the economic benefits of having a mill in proper working order, transporting products from the mill to distant markets was a challenge. As shipping goods along the canals became increasingly less efficient and profitable, due in large part to the competition from the railroads beginning in the 1850s, the exorbitant costs of maintaining the locks and dams must have felt necessary but frustrating for Thompson II. Historian J. David Wood has argued that the railroad was *the* major force for change in the province.[203] Thus, when the Canada Southern Railway built a line that bypassed Indiana in favour of

nearby Cayuga in 1871, and expropriating the right-of-way on Lots 1 through 5 that belong to Thompson II, it must have rubbed salt in Thompson's festering economic wounds.[204] Meanwhile, as a Member of Parliament for Haldimand County, Thompson II had ongoing correspondence with a number of local businessmen who were dismayed with him for not encouraging the expansion of railroads to Caledonia from Hamilton. In 1872, Alexander Taylor wrote, "I trust that common sense may prevail in this contest".[205] Apparently Thompson II agreed that it must, because, rather than continuing to fight railroad expansion, in 1873 he printed and distributed plan lots for the town of Deans, between Indiana and Cayuga, to allow for a train station to be built on a local rail line only a short distance from Indiana.[206] In 1874, he began building the town of Deans, including

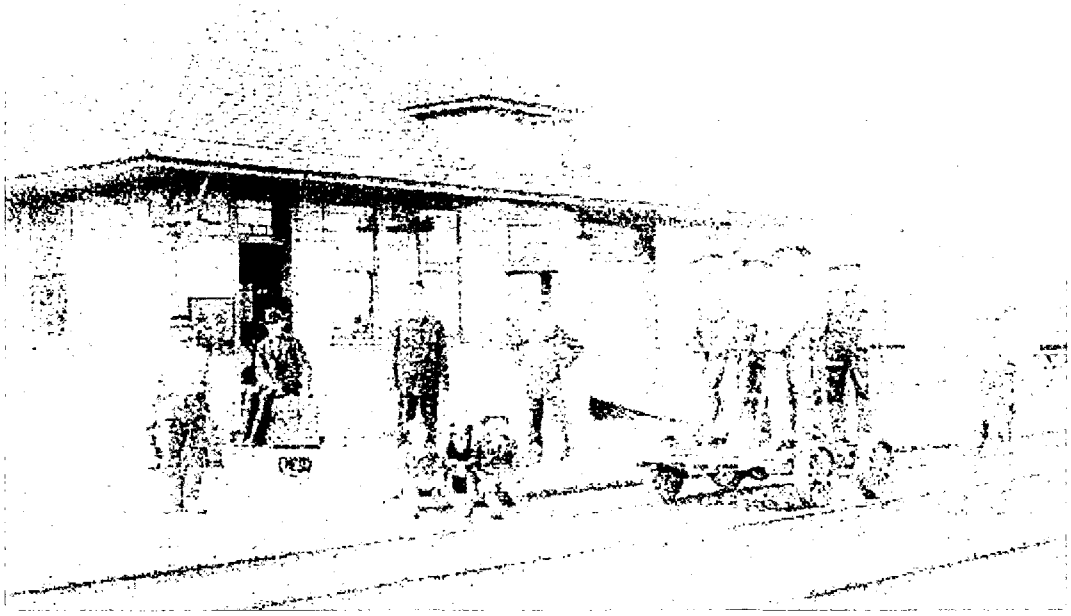
Figure1E: Layout of the Town of Deans, Ontario



the Deans Railroad Station and a one-story frame Grain Storehouse at Lot No. 1, which he insured in 1875 for $500.[207] After that, Thompson used the rail lines

from Deans extensively to ship flour, barley and other grains to Buffalo, Montreal and beyond.[208]

Figure 1F: Deans Station, north of Cayuga and south of Indiana[209]



Although he followed the urgings of his constituents in this instance and encouraged the expansion of train service to Deans, railroads were not the main focus for Thompson II. Instead, he continued, inadvisedly, to put the majority of his resources behind the improvement of water power on the Grand River. For example, in order to service the water needs of Deans, Thompson had a small feeder canal, the Deans Dam Canal, constructed between Deans and the Grand River.[210] The canal and dam were maintained by Deans Hydraulic Works, which appears to have begun operating in 1876.[211] Maintenance work on the canal continued from March to October 1877 and again from February to November 1878.[212]

The construction of this small waterway allowed for the addition of a mill site to the town of Deans. On 25 January 1877, Thompson signed a contract with Christopher and George Stevenson, saw millers, for Mill Site number one, between the Deans Dam Canal and the Grand River. Not surprisingly, the contract held the proviso that Thompson would have the power at any time to enforce the temporary stoppage of the flow or supply of surplus water, specifically if his own grist mill in Indiana required the extra water supply.[213]

David Thompson II obviously had a passionate interest in keeping the Grand River business community flourishing. While the work was being carried out on the feeder canal to Deans, he began the process of building a new dam on the Grand River. On 15 May 1876, W.H. Ellis of Toronto tendered his proposal to design the dam.[214] He was awarded the contract for $7500 on 20 May.[215] Perhaps due to the cost of repairing the old dam, Thompson delayed until 1878 in obtaining bids to build the new one. At that time, he sought the advice of John Decew, surveyor, in determining the height for the new dam. Decew placed a stake four inches higher than the old dam which, in his opinion, would allow a fall of that much in the water to the mills at the lower end of the canal.[216]

Thomas Baker provided his submission to build the new dam on 13 December 1878. What made this tender particularly meaningful for historical study of the area is that he specified exactly where the new dam was to be built, "across that part of the Grand River, opposite Mount Healy (better known as Cook Dam), from the head of the Canal, to the upper end of the Old weir. The

same being 360 feet, more or less." In other words, it was approximately one mile south of York on Grand River.[217] His bid was to build the dam for the sum of $6,360.[218] On 2January 1879, Thompson II and Baker signed the contract to build the dam, and the work began the next month.[219]

From May to August 1879 the guard locks for the new dam were built to the specifications of designer John C. Scott.[220] These guard locks were crucial on the Grand River because they regulated the flow of water: Storms and seasonal fluctuations in water levels could create periods of high water, which, when allowed into the waterway, often caused destructive currents and flooding. Guard locks protected the upper entrances to canals, thereby maintaining a constant water level.[221] The lumber required for this project cost Thompson $307.99 and the labour amounted to $588.10, for a total cost of $896.09 over a four-month period.[222] While the guard locks were being assembled, construction on the dam continued right through December 1879.[223] In actual fact, the work on the dam continued until February 1880, at which point Thompson decided that the expenses were too high and that construction had to cease.[224] That news was undoubtedly difficult for those employed on the site, as the project to that point had required the work of 68 labourers and tradesmen.[225] Indeed, the cessation of this project proved to be the beginning of the end of trade and movement along the canals of the Grand River, as one after another the locks and dams began to shut down.

In April 1880, Thompson's clerk in Deans, Alexander Macduff, sent a letter to him in Ottawa in which he attempted to appease Thompson for the enormous

outlay of money that he had put out for dams and repairs, and all to such an unfortunate end:

> You must not allow yourself to get into a despondent state over that now that the thing is done and a fortune spent in doing it... I know should anything happen to break dams again that $20,000 of your money would be swept away never again to be recovered... I fully know that this is a source of anxiety to you.[226]

Thompson's fears came to fruition; in April 1881, the guard locks at Deans could no longer sustain the levels of water and there was a break in them at the Deans Hydraulic Works.[227] In June, Thomas Baker tendered a quote for repairing the guard locks for a total of $1,700.[228] In September of that year, Christopher Stephenson provided a statement of his costs associated with fixing the break. His bill amounted to $1,350 and Thompson agreed to go ahead with the work, but the records suggest that the repairs were never initiated.[229] Without these repairs, water power was no longer possible in the town of Deans, and Thompson's interest in the town was thereafter negligible, except, ironically, as a train station. It appears that Thompson also lost interest in running the Indiana mill, as evidenced in a letter that he received from his former clerk, Alexander Kinnear, suggesting that he was attempting to sell it. Kinnear told Thompson that he had discussed the Indiana mill with another individual, and that they had debated about what price Thompson might want to sell the mill. Kinnear had suggested the sum of $7,000, while his companion had remarked that he had heard it could be purchased for $5,500.[230]

Water supply was still necessary to run the mills in Indiana, but Thompson's misfortunes continued. Two years after the guard locks in Deans

ceased working, in the spring of 1883, the new dam on the Grand River experienced a breach. In July of that year, Thompson arranged to consult with an engineer from Hamilton who went to look at the damaged dam.[231] The report Thompson received in November recommended putting in new pipes as the old ones were clogged.[232] Before he had even received the report, however, in August 1883, Thompson sent out letters asking for assistance in selling his water wheels.[233] But in a strange twist, in 1884, Thompson also began sending out enquiries about new wheat separators, elevators and cotton belting. It appears that, although he was initially despondent about his prospects, he now intended to find ways to carry on with gristing.[234] While Thompson was deciding what to do about the dam break and his mill furniture, production at Ruthven Mills in Indiana was silent.[235]

That Thompson II was feeling increasingly anxious about his failing business interests in Indiana is demonstrated as early as January 1881, in a letter that he wrote to Adamson and Lamb of Hamilton to see if they would be interested in selling his Indiana and Caledonia enterprises. Although they answered in the affirmative, nothing appears to have come of it.[236] In April 1882, Thompson wrote to Alexander Macduff in Winnipeg. In this letter, he disclosed that he was thinking of putting Ruthven Mill up for sale, as well as Ruthven Mansion. Macduff answered that he hoped that Thompson would succeed in disposing of his Indiana property, including the Mill.[237] Thompson followed up that letter with an inquiry to the Canada West Land Agency Company, asking if they would be interested in selling his property.[238] Again it appears that nothing

substantial came of the correspondence. On 3 September 1883, Thompson finally received an exploratory letter about whether he was interested in selling Ruthven Mill or even a half-interest in it.[239] After considerable deliberation, two years later, on 13 October 1885, Thompson began the process of formally putting Ruthven Mansion up for sale by soliciting the company of Coleman and Thomson, Real Estate and Financial Agents of Toronto. The company sent him a letter requesting further information:

> We understand that this whole property (mill and water privileges excepted) is to be sold... We have, however, on this account to ask you to stipulate the amount of land under drain on each of the Lynch, Hutty and Leitch Farms.[240] How many acres of orchard on each and such other particulars as you can give us in the 96 acres park. What reserve you make out of same for private cemetery, church & cemetery?[241]

The company also asked for details on nearly 1500 acres of land associated with Ruthven. In the end, the property was not put up for sale, possibly because Thompson was not feeling well.[242] There were numerous references in letters and businesses documents from as early as 1874, through 1886, to that effect.[243]

On 19 March 1886, Thompson II added a codicil to the short will that he had written in 1873. He reiterated that his will stood as originally penned, but instead of having his wife Elizabeth as sole executor, he added his son David and his friend James Mitchell. His entire estate was bequeathed to his "beloved wife" Elizabeth, including all of his "real and personal Estate of whatever nature and kind whatsoever and wheresoever situated."[244] David Thompson II died a month later on 18 April 1886, in his fiftieth year.[245] His wife Elizabeth Stinson died almost exactly twenty years later, on 10 April 1906, in her sixty-eighth year.[246]

It is tempting to speculate about what might have happened to the town of Indiana had Thompson lived longer and managed to recover his losses. There were clear indications in the Thompson Papers at Ruthven Park that he was considering the use of steam power at Ruthven Mill.[247] If Thompson had been able to move away from his reliance on the old ways, specifically water powered-mills, it is conceivable that Indiana might have experienced a different fate. Of course, he also experienced a certain amount of pressure to stay the course, as 51 percent of mills in Haldimand County used water wheels, in comparison to 29 percent in the rest of the province in 1871.[248] No matter what might or could have happened, the reality was that the mills had completely ceased industrial activity by the time that the younger David Thompson died.

Both David Thompson the elder and the younger were dedicated to the growth and prosperity of Indiana. Both men were highly influential on local, regional and national levels. It is also clear that Thompson II was perhaps not as astute a businessman as his father had been. As historian Douglas McCalla has noted, the character and abilities of the businessman were closely connected to the fate of their businesses.[249] Thompson II experienced that truth first hand as he was unable to keep pace with the rapidly changing industries of the late nineteenth century. By attempting to utilize the same technology that his father had used, specifically water power, Thompson II did not acknowledge that this technology had become outmoded. In spite of the efforts of both men to develop and sustain Indiana, in the end, neither left businesses or structures that survived beyond them. The only remaining material evidence of their entrepreneurial

efforts, and their personal wealth, is Ruthven Mansion itself. Yet there is little doubt that these men dramatically influenced the rise and fall of Indiana and the lives of the people who resided and worked there. As much as the journals and documents of the Thompson family reveal about the family itself, and especially about their public endeavours, they also tell much about the labourers who were Indiana's lifeblood. Those "ordinary" people will constitute the focus of the remainder of this study.

Endnotes

[1] The rise and fall of the town of Indiana was not unique as there were other towns and villages that experienced similar fates. See for example: Douglas McCalla *The Upper Canada Trade 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanan's Business*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979; Christopher Clarke *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990; Stephen Mrozowski, Grace H. Ziesling and Mary C. Beaudry, *Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boarding-houses, Lowell, Massachusetts*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996; Matthew M Palus and Paul A Shackel *They Worked Regular: Craft, Labor and Family in the Industrial Community of Virginius Island*, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006).

[2] James Thomson arrived in Canada without the letter "p" in the spelling of his last name. But, according to his great grandson Andrew Thompson, the deed to his land in Upper Canada, was drawn with the "p" in *Thompson*. Rather than lose title to his land, he continued using that spelling of his last name. However, on his tombstone, located in Stamford, Niagara Ontario, the spelling of his last name *Thomson* was without the "p". From: Andrew Thompson *Something about our Family,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga Ontario; Declaration signed by Andrew Thorburn Thompson, notarized Jun 12, 1884 by AG Hill, Niagara. Found: small bible hall bookcase, #1A, pg 1, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[3] Attributed to James Arnot, Minister, Thompson *Something about our Family*.

[4] Thompson, *Something About our Family*; "Margaret's father David Emerick was killed by the Six Nations Indians at his farm on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania, in the year 1776, where Margaret was born. She was a captive of the Indians for four years and seven months when she was rescued by the Patriots, at the age of about eleven." *Family Bible*, hall bookcase, #1A, pp. 1, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. Further, Archibald Thompson, son of James and Margaret, swore in an affidavit that his mother Margaret, "and her mother and brother were brought to Canada by the Indians as prisoners and were subsequently ransomed by the British Government." Thompson, *Something about our Family*.

[5] This information was available in various locations at Ruthven Park but I am taking this date from: the *Family Bible*, small bookcase, #1A, pp 1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[6] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[7] Archibald Thompson, Declaration in front of a Notary Public, 12th June 1884, in Niagara Falls, County of Welland.

[8] William Gray, *Soldiers of the King - the Upper Canadian Militia 1812-15,* (Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1985), 138.

[9] From an appeal written by David Thompson "To the Free and Independent Electors of the County of Haldimand", Indiana 20th January 1841, printed by Ruthven Book and Job Printers, Hamilton, Picture Room, HHC Wooden trunk, #28, Doc 2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[10] L. H. Irving, *Officers of the British Forces in Canada during the War of 1812-15*, (Welland, 1909), 209.

[11] Promotion from Francis Gore, 2nd Regiment of Lincoln Militia, Niagara, Oct 22, 1815. TV room #4 of 5, Doc #17, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Personal communication with

Kevin Windsor, Museum curator in Hamilton. Information derived from: DEF Research, PO Box 29123 3500 Fallowfield Road, Nepean, Ontario K2J 4A9, Canada.

[12] Document detailing promotion, attic pigeonhole 15AB, Doc #16, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[13] Letter, front hall back bookcase, #5, Doc 1-G, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[14] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[15] Document detailing promotion, TV room #2 of 5, Doc #5 and #31, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[16] Document detailing promotion, TV room #2 of 5, Doc #31, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; The township of Wainfleet is located on the northern shore of Lake Erie, running nine miles along the shoreline. The town of Wainfleet itself, originally part of Lincoln County, was less than 30 miles from Indiana via the water routes that would have been available to David Thompson I, via Lake Erie and then along the Grand River. http://www.township.wainfleet.on.ca.

[17] Colin K Duquemin and Daniel J Glenney, *A Guide to the Grand River Navigation Canal, Second Edition*, Publication No. 1, (St. Catharine's: St. Catherine's Historical Museum, 1981).

[18] "Accounts for Deep Cut", front hall bookcase, 3, #2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[19] http://www.township.wainfleet.on.ca

[20] Feb 14, 1828, letter from David Thompson to his brother Archibald Thompson, requesting his partnership with Deep Cut, front hall back bookcase #3, doc 25 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. Affirmed by a further series of letters regarding various financial decisions with the project and the Deep Cut Accounts, front hall back bookcase, #5, Doc 1H, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; artifact room, Col ATT trunk, 18, #1G; front hall/back bookcase #3, Doc 24 front; Deep Cut Accounts, Sept 15 to Oct 8, 1828, front hall back bookcase, #3, doc # 2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; Bruce Emerson Hill, *The Grand River Navigation* Company, (Brant: Brant Service Press, 1994), 2.

[21] Craig Sims *Historic Structures Report, Ruthven Park National Historic Site*, Heritage Building Consultant, (Kingston, 2006), 57

[22] The original plan and design for the Grist Mill, called for the installation of 4 Mitre Wheels each 46 cogs, 1 ¼ inch pitch and 3 inch face; 1 spur wheel, 32 cogs, 1 ¼ inch pitch, 2 ½ inch face; 1 spur wheel 45 cogs, 1 ¼ inch pitch, 2 ½ inch face with 8 inch socket, 8 square; 1 Bevel wheel 42 cogs, 1 ¾ inch pitch, 2 ½ inch face and 2 Bevel wheels each 47 cogs, 1 ¾ inch pitch, 2 ½ inch face. See: "Specifications of Castings for Grist Mill, July 21st, 1837" Signed Henry Barton. Located attic Pigeonhole#12B, Doc #9, front, back and inner left and right, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; According to the contract between Henry Barton and David Thompson, the grist mill was to be in full running order by August 1837 and the saw and carding mills were to be in operation by September 1837. See: copy of a handwritten note, between D. Thompson and Henry Barton regarding furnishing mill castings, attic pigeonhole 12, #8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; Both Thompson men kept the cooperage in functioning order as it was a useful adjunct to the Grist Mill to have barrels made on premises. Thompson II sold the cooperage to his chief cooper Michael White in 1865 for $175, *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, 84, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[23] *General Ledger 1834-1849*, Handwritten in the front cover: "Ledger II, David Thompson", pp. 8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[24] In the early years of Indiana, pounds sterling were the accepted currency in British North America but the introduction of the American dollar in 1792 meant that many trading companies in both the United States and Canada favoured the dollar as currency. Political union of the two Canada's in 1841 led to standardization of currency in the two Canada's as pounds. In 1853, the Currency Act allowed for the use of both dollars and pounds but in 1857 the Currency Act was revised, after which all government accounts were kept in dollars. For the purposes of this study, I have used pounds where indicated in the early years and dollars in the later 1850s onward. For more information on Canadian currency see: "A History of The Canadian Dollar: Bank of Canada", www.justiceplus.org/thedollar.htm.

[25] Crown Sale/Grant to David Thompson, Township of Seneca, District of Niagara, 18th January, 1845, TV Room #3 of 5, Doc #4, Inside Right, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[26] Advertisement, *Journal and Express*, Hamilton, May 5, 1845.

[27] It is unclear exactly why Thompson chose to name his home Ruthven, however it is assumed by Marilynn Havelka, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, that the property was so named after Ruthven barracks and fort in Scotland, probably as a nod to their Scottish heritage.

[28] The *Land Book*, pp. 1: County of Haldimand, otherwise known as the "Family Homestead", Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[29] Thompson II paid $6 to have his house and information in the Tremaine Map of 1862. See: Indiana Cash book, 1858-1864, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[30] Thompson, *Something about our Family*; In fairly short order Thompson I was making changes because in August of 1849, he added an office to the house at Ruthven. It was designed by George Laing and it was constructed by Thomas Baker, Contract for Thomas Baker to build an office at Ruthven for Thompson, August 24, 1849, Artifact Room, Col ATT Metal Trunk, 19, #6, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[31] Cheryl MacDonald *Haldimand History: The Early Years, 1784-1850*, (Nanticoke: Heronwood Enterprises, 2004), 41.

[32] Hill, 1994, 128.

[33] *Gazetteer and Directory of County Haldimand*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 69.

[34] *Ruthven Park Mansion Tour Script*, updated August 27, 2006, Ruthven National Historic Park, Cayuga; A contemporary source described the value of moving "coal, lumber, salt and gypsum", along the Grand River to the Dunnville feeder, then to the Welland Canal, which then provided access to markets in Buffalo and beyond. William Kingsford, *The Canadian Canals: Their history and cost with an inquiry into the policy necessary to advance the well-being of the Province*, (Toronto: Rollo and Adam, 1865). William Kingsford was a civil engineer, in the office of the Registrar of the Province of Canada.

[35] Hill, 1994, 128-131.

[36] *Gazetteer and Directory of County Haldimand*, 1867, 68.

[37] Hill, 1994, 11; In an article written by Francis Hincks in 1845, *Montreal Pilot Extra*, he noted that from "1818 to 1838 upwards of eleven millions of acres of Crown Lands were purchased from various Indian tribes," thus it is obvious it was common practice for the government to negotiate land deals with Native groups at that time – this deal was no exception.

[38] *Gazetteer County Haldimand, 1867,* 69.

[39] Hill, 1994, 11.

[40] *Gazetteer County Haldimand*, 1867, 68.

[41] *General Ledger 1834-1849*, 1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[42] Hill, 1994, 16.

[43] *Gazetteer and Directory of County Haldimand*, 1867, 68.

[44] Hill, 1994, 16.

[45] Hill, 1994, 14.

[46] Hill, 1994, 108; from 1796 to 1816 the Lieutenant-Governor of the province superintended Indian affairs. In 1816 the Department was under military control, which lasted until 1830 when the Department was again placed under the direction of the Lieutenant-Governor where it remained until 1860. The Six Nations granted (surrendered) a twelve-mile strip of land along the banks of the Grand River between 1798 and 1841, amounting to 644,396 acres of land. It was the sale of these lands and their timber, under the direct of the Indian Department, that the funds to purchase the shares in the GRNC were derived from - see Hill, 1994, pp 19.

[47] Kingsford, 1865.

[48] Christopher Andreae, *Lines of Country: An Atlas of Railway and Waterway History in Canada*, (Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1997), 55.

[49] Kingsford, 1865.

[50] Andreae, 1994, 57.

[51] Kingsford, 1865; Mr. Molesworth, "Grand River Navigation", *Grand River Sachem*, Nov 20, 1867.

[52] Hill, 1994, 36.

[53] Molesworth,1867.

[54] Felicity L Leung, *Grist and Flour Mills in Ontario: From Millstones to Rollers, 1780-1880's*, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, (Hull: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1981).

[55] Hill, 1994, 36.

[56] Hill, 1994, 130; Andreae, 1994, 126

[57] *Gazetteer County Haldimand*, 1867, 75.

[58] Andreae, 1997, 55.

[59] Hill, 1994, 36.

[60] On Crown Sale/Grant to David Thompson, Township of Seneca, District of Niagara, 18th January, 1845, the patent was dated 1837, TV Room #3 of 5, Doc #4, Inside Right, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[61] Robert F Legget, *Canals of Canada*, (Vancouver: Douglas, David and Charles, 1976), 170.

[62] *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Counties Haldimand and Norfolk*, (Toronto: HR Page and Co, 1877), 5.

[63] Andreae, 1997, 126.

[64] Kingsford, 1865, 82.

[65] Gazetteer, 1867, 69; Hill, 1994, 61.

[66] Steam-Boat License for Andrew Thompson, May 10, 1843, Artifact Room, Col ATT trunk, file 23, #3, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Steam-Boat License for Andrew Thompson, May 10, 1846, Artifact room, Col ATT trunk, 23, #4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. It must be noted that in order for Andrew to "obtain a license to dispense "spirituous liquors" a candidate needed character endorsements that vouched fro his sobriety, honesty and diligence." See: Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers *Tavern in the Town: Early Inns and Taverns of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 5; Additionally the concept of character included "industry, honesty, sobriety, loyalty, strict sexual mores", Peter A Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada 1815-1840*, Canadian Studies, Volume 6, (Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 145.

[67] Hill, 1994, 61.

[68] Hill, 1994, 128.

[69] Hill, 1994, 61.

[70] Hill, 1994, 11.

[71] Hill, 1994, 111.

[72] Hill, 1994, 108.

[73] Appendix M.M., 1. "Minutes of Evidence" David Thompson, Esquire, in the Chair, Tuesday October 31, 1843, *Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Volume III, September 28th to December 9, 1843*, (Kingston: G Desbarats and T. Cary, 1844).

[74] Appendix M.M., December 4, 1843; as noted earlier in these footnotes, the land along the river had been sold by the Indian Department on behalf of the Six Nations to various landholders, including Thompson I. Therefore Thompson's comment about the land not having much value for the next 500 years had nothing to do with Indiana sitting on leased land. It was legally owned by Thompson and others.

[75] Hill, 1994, 70.

[76] Molesworth, 1867.

[77] Indiana Land Registry Records, Land Registry Office, Cayuga; See: *Sketch of Town Plot of Indiana*, artifact room, metal trunk, 10, #1 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[78] See the "Plan of the Village of Indiana in the Township of Seneca, County of Haldimand, Ontario", compiled from Original Plans, Cayuga March 4, 1869, registered January 18, 1870, Land Registry office, Cayuga.

[79] Thompson eventually owned the following town lots: 1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 23, 26, 33, 41, 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 60, 65, A, C (which eventually became the Presbyterian Church), D (Both Thompson's were shareholders in the Indiana Bridge Company that was built on this lot), and Mill lot 4, 5, 6. All information was derived from the Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[80] *Consolidated Risk and Farmers Fire Insurance Company*, Toronto, May 16th, 1876, insured a 2-story brick house 36x26 including kitchen and wood shed for $1000, David Thompson was the beneficiary of the property because he held the mortgage, Attic pigeonhole 32A, #9, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga

[81] John Triggs, *Wherefore Indiana? Doing Archaeology and History in a 19th century Mill Village*, unpublished manuscript, 2004, 3.

[82] See Chapter 2 for population details and chapter 3, footnote 5, for a more complete explanation of company towns.

[83] "Typical" company towns have been extensively examined. See: Mary C Beaudry and Stephen A. Mrozowski *Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills Lowell Massachusetts,* Vol. 3, *The Boarding House System as a Way of Life*, Cultural Resources Management Study No. 21, (North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, US Dept. of the Interior, Boston, 1989); "The Archaeology of Work and Home Life in Lowell, Massachusetts: An Interdisciplinary Study of the Boott Cotton Mills Corporation", *IA, The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archaeology*, 14(2) (1989) 1-22; *Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills Lowell Massachusetts,* Vol. 1, *Life at the Boarding-houses,* Cultural Resources Management Study No. 18, (North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, US Dept. of the Interior, Boston, 1987); *Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills Lowell Massachusetts,* Vol. 2, *The Kirk Street Agents' House,* Cultural Resources Management Study No. 19, (North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, US Dept. of the Interior, Boston, 1987).

The Amoskeag Textile Factory, New Hampshire, had a network of 30 mills, closely related geographically, that produced cotton and woollen textile products. Around the turn of the century, they were the largest textile producers in the world, employing some 17,000 workers in their mills in Manchester. One estimate claims that the mills of the Amoskeag had about 2,500 kilometres of floor space. The mill exported 5 million yards of cloth every week. See: Claude Bélanger, Marianopolis College, 1999, http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/pictures/textile2.htm

Additionally, historians such as Tamara Hareven studied this mill complex to delve into the relationship between family and work. See: Tamara K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the family and work in a New England industrial community*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); There is little doubt that both Thompson men were a significant presence in Indiana because it appears that many of the earliest businesses in Indiana began under the direction, if not financial backing, of Thompson I. However, Indiana did not fit the classic example of a company town for many reasons, see Chapter 3.

[84] John S. Garner, (ed), *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 4.

[85] The marriage of Sally Ann Wilson, in the Township of Pelham, District of Niagara, was noted in the large *Family Bible*; On November 10, 1832 John Wilson left his daughter Sally Ann Thompson, the bulk of his estate in his will, as found in the wood Room Secretary Trunk, 3B 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[86] The historical information is lacking about exactly how these two children died, but given that they died only four days apart in 1836 it is likely that they succumbed to one of the many epidemics that ravaged the pioneers of Ontario.

[87] Headstone "In memory of David Thompson of Wainfleet", Ruthven Park cemetery Cayuga Ontario.

[88] *Mansion Tour Script*, Ruthven Park, 2006.

[89] Letter from Thompson I to his brothers Archibald and John, June 1, 1840, Artifact Room, Col. ATT metal trunk, 18, #1a; Death Notice and funeral information for Sally Thompson, Jun 1 1840, artifact room, Col ATT trunk, #18, 1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[90] Sally's death was noted in the large *Family Bible*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[91] In this source there was a list of lands that were owned by David Thompson at the time of his death. The list includes when the land was purchased, how much land was included, as well as the Lot and Concession. "Statement of Unsold Lands belonging to the estate of David Thompson, Indiana", Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[92] Sims, 2006, 58.

[93] Newspaper article, "Freeman vs. Brown", unknown origin and date, Ruthven TV Room, 2 of 5, document #54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[94] David Thompson I estate had to pay a total of $3168.23 to Brown's heirs, Details of the settlement, *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870*, February 21, 1868, 84, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[95] June 30, 1840, letter from David Thompson to Archibald Thompson, front hall back bookcase, #1, doc #2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[96] Douglas McCalla *The Upper Canada Trade 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanan's Business*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 157.

[97] Picture room, AHIC trunk, #28, Doc 2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[98] From a copy of a handwritten note about an election pledge to get voters to and from the voting station, Mar 16, 1841, attic pigeonhole 12AA, #29, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[99] Thompson was elected in 1841, 1844 and 1848. See: MacDonald, 2004, 114.

[100] *A History of the Vote in Canada*, Elections Canada, General Information, http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=chap1&dir

[101] Catharine Anne Wilson, "Chapter 1: Introduction", *Tenants in Time*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

[102] Thompson was deemed able to, ""take and receive... All bail, affidavit as any person or persons... make before you in any action or suit or hereafter... and any proceedings of the Court". TV room, 2 of 5, Doc #28, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[103] TV room, 2of5, Doc #27, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[104] MacDonald, 2004, 114.

[105] Thompson, *Something about our Family*; Thomas Coltrin Keefer was born in November of 1821 in Thorold Township, Upper Canada. His father was the first president of the Welland Canal Company. From 1840-1845, TC Keefer was an assistant engineer for the Welland Canal Company. In the 1850s Keefer continued his engineering efforts and he wrote pamphlets espousing the virtues of transportation. Two of his most famous works were "*Philosophy of railroads*" and "*The canals of Canada*". Keefer was considered a leading protagonist for railways. See Dictionary of Canadian Biography on line: http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=7488

[106] Thompson, *Something about our Family*

[107] SJR Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics 1791*-1896, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 76-77.

[108] Stephen Innes, *Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 72.

[109] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[110] Noel, 1990, 78.

[111] There are numerous references in various disciplines about the concept of paternalism, land ownership and how both structured behaviour in men in the 19th century. See for example Catharine Anne Wilson *Tenants in Time: Family Strategies, Land and Liberalism in Upper Canada, 1799-1871*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009); Mark D. Groover *An Archaeological Study of Rural Capitalism and Material Life: The Gibbs Farmstead in Southern Appalachia, 1790-1920*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003); John Clarke *Land, Power and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

[112] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[113] Andrew Thompson lived in Port Dover and it is assumed that was where David was taken "home" to.

[114] David, Andrew and Archibald Thompson were brothers; Letter from Andrew Thompson to Archibald Thompson, front hall bookcase #5, Doc 1B, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[115] Letter from David Thompson I to his brother Archibald Thompson, 8th September 1838, Ruthven Park; Ague was commonly believed to have been the same disease as malaria. Indeed, Catharine Parr Traill described the medical care needed for ague, "The mode of treatment is repeated doses of calomel, with castor oil or salts, and is followed up by quinine... We considered the complaint to have had its origin in malaria." Catharine Parr Traill *The Backwoods of Canada: Letters from the wife if an Emigrant Officer*, (Toronto: Prospero Books, 2000), 299.

[116] Letter from David Thompson I to his brother Archibald, July 7, 1841, Kingston, Ruthven Park. Although this is merely speculation, it is possible that the illness referred to here was a "summer complaint" that entailed symptoms of diarrhea and dysentery, a very common problem in the 19th century. For further information on this, see: Frances Hoffman and Ryan Taylor *Much to be Done: Private Life in Ontario from Victorian Diaries*, Second Edition, (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2007), 162.

[117] July 7, 1841, letter from David Thompson in Kingston, to Archibald Thompson, front hall back bookcase, #4, doc #1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[118] David Thompson I, Last Will and Testament, Jan 27 1843, Artifact Room, Col ATT Trunk, 5, #2A, pages 1-4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[119] Letter from David Thompson I to his brother Archibald Thompson, 16th March, 1844, PF3 10a RP-DT-1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[120] Letter from David Thompson I to his son David Thompson II, Artifact Room Col ATT metal trunk, 5, #1H front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[121] Letter from David Thompson I to his son David Thompson II, Artifact Room, Col ATT metal trunk, 5, #1C front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[122] In spite of this assertion from Thompson, *Something about our Family*, it is unclear exactly what Thompson's malady was.

[123] Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, July 1851, pp 99, United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, Toronto, Ontario (BX9084.A1 M56 PS Microfilm 1).

[124] John Gillis has stated that "most of the dying was done at home, for only the destitute died in the hospital; those who could afford it died in their own beds." See: John Gillis *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 210; The codicil was found attached to David Thompson's Last Will and Testament, Feb 18, 1851, Ontario Archives, microfilm, Court of Probate, RG 22-155, MS638 (68), Estate Files 1793-1859; The exact cause of death for Thompson is not known.

[125] From an obituary about David Thompson 1st, from an unknown newspaper, found in the Small *Bible*, Doc #1A, pp 4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[126] Chancery report, Distribution of David Thompson's property, Samuel Freeman et al executors, Artifact Room, Col ATT metal trunk #5, 2C, pp 1-4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[127] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[128] From a handwritten letter between James Murray of Indiana and David Thompson I in Kingston, October 27, 1843, Artifact room, metal trunk, file #5, document 24, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[129] Andrew Ruthven Thompson, "The Story of Indiana when it was a Village with 600 or more Population and one of the important Business Centres along the Grand River", *The Haldimand Advocate*, Thursday August 3, 1950.

[130] *Indiana Petty Ledger B, 1851-1859*, 123. Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Thompson, *Something about our Family*. Included in the Thompson Papers are a few letters that were written from David Thompson senior to his son David while at school with Dr Tassie and his wife. Artifact Room, Col ATT metal trunk, 5, documents #1C, #1D, #1F, #1G, #1H. Interestingly, because his father died, the bill for six years tuition wasn't paid in full until 1864, *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, 123, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[131] The first evidence that Thompson senior wanted to send his son to Upper Canada College was found in a letter in the Thompson Papers written June 28, 1850, Artifact Room, Col ATT metal trunk, 5, #1E front and back, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; The *Canadian Parliamentary*

Companion (Ottawa: J. Drurie and Son, 1883) stated that David Thompson II "was schooled at a Hamilton Grammar School and Upper Canada College".

[132] Headstone for James Wilson Thompson, Ruthven Park Cemetery, Cayuga Ontario

[133] David Thompson, Last Will and Testament, Feb 18, 1851, Ontario Archives, microfilm, Court of Probate, RG 22-155, MS638 (68), Estate Files 1793-1859.

[134] References to various land transfers on this date are found in the *Land Book*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[135] Information found on a handwritten invitation to David Thompson's wedding. Artifact room, Col ATT trunk, file #19, Doc 1e, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; The townsfolk of Indiana sent a letter to the Thompson's congratulating them on their marriage, Letter from a Committee of people in Indiana, to David Thompson congratulating him on his marriage from the "townsfolk of Indiana', artifact room, Col ATT trunk, 5, #1G, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[136] *Thompson Family Tree*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[137] Thompson not only banned alcohol from his home but in 1880 he was instrumental in having a Division of the "Sons of Temperance of Ontario" organized in Indiana. A letter to that effect was found Attic Pigeonhole 30, #35, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[138] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[139] Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, 2nd Edition, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 218.

[140] *Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports*, Ontario Sessional Papers of 32 Victoria 1868-69 (31) "Return of the Number of Tavern Licenses issued in each County, City, Town, or Incorporated Village".

[141] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[142] Other church donations in 1866: $1 for bell at Cayuga church, Oneida Pres church $3 for building fund of manse, $5 for Rev O'Neil's salary, $5 to Rev Selkirk for parsonage, $8.50 to Rev Grant for 1 bbl of flour. Other church donations in 1867 not related to Indiana church: Mr. Stephen Street's tea meeting received 50 lbs flour, Reverend Richardson $2, $10 for the Baptist Church in Selkirk, Roman Catholic sisters of Charity $2, Reverend Newton received flour worth $3.75. From: "List of Contributions and Charities", *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[143] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[144] See the "List of Contributions and Charities" *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[145] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-1864*, 168, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[146] *Indiana Petty Ledger 1862-1870*, 156, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[147] Phrenology was a Victorian pseudo- science that studied the relationship between character and head shape. Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) was the first to consider the brain as the center of mental activities. Through careful observation and extensive experimental measurements, Gall believed that he could link aspects of character, called faculties, to precise brain localities. For a

fuller history of phrenology, see: www.phrenology.org/intro.html On Thompson II, see Estimate of the Cerebral Development, WG Moncrieff, Phrenologist, June 23, 1858, Attic pigeonhole 12B, #1, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[148] Portrait hangs in dining room at Ruthven Mansion, Cayuga.

[149] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, February 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #40 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[150] Letter regarding a horse and rider, a collapsed bridge and possible legal action, attic pigeonhole 27B, #24, 2 pages, in response to Martin and Curran, Barristers, August 27, 1880, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[151] In this issue Thompson relied heavily on his clerk Alexander Macduff in Deans for information. Thus there were a number of letters in the Thompson Papers regarding this issue. See for example: attic pigeonhole 56, #33, #40, #41 front and back, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[152] A note was found on the bottom of the legal letter from Martin and Curran, Barristers, attic pigeonhole 27B, #24, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[153] "From a letter from the committee of the Village of Indiana Inhabitants", X97B.1033.1b, 9H "Ina", June 2, 1866, Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[154] There are numerous references to this, including the *1867 Gazetteer*, Haldimand County.

[155] *1867 Gazetteer*, Haldimand County, headquarters in York; Sims, 2006, 58.

[156] Confirmation of his election was found, attic pigeonhole 49, *Diary 1873*, #2-137, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Sims, 2006, 58.

[157] Jun 12, 1867 "The Independent Electors of County Haldimand" *Grand River Sachem.*

[158] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[159] *School Section No 8, Indiana: minute book*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[160] Document found attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #4, 2pgs, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Letter, attic pigeonhole 27B, #10 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[161] MacDonald, 2004, 63.

[162] Journal entry: *General Journal, 1834 to 1849*, 81, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[163] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*, 150, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[164] May 7, 1852. Original stockholders, *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[165] Incorporation with treasurers Certificate #12 bic Cap 84 – AIV, Indiana Land Registry Records, pp. 64, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[166] Contract, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga

[167] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga*; Gazetteer and Directory of the Counties of Haldimand and Brant*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 107.

[168] Scows were flat bottomed boats that did not require keels for stability. These vessels were not as easy to navigate or steer as boats with keels and they were not as seaworthy, however they were extremely useful for hauling freight in shallow water bodies such as the Grand River; Repairs noted February 28, 1855, *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"* (X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA) Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[169] There are numerous references to tolls being paid for to the Indiana Bridge Company. See for example, *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*, pp 16, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[170] Minutes of the Indiana Bridge Company 1865, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[171] Journal entry in *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[172] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[173] April 4, 1865, Minutes of the Indiana Bridge Company 1865, Cayuga: X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[174] "Freshet in the Grand River: Indiana Bridge Destroyed", *Grand River Sachem*, March 4, 1866.

[175] Individuals paid subscriptions toward the building of a Swing Bridge in 1872 and 1873. See for example: George Kirkland paid subscriptions in both years toward the building of the bridge, *General Journal 1870-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; "A special meeting of the Directors of the Indiana Bridge Company" in which it was decided that the bridge would be put up for sale by public auction on January 1, 1867. *Minutes of the Indiana Bridge Company*, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, November 13, 1866, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[176] From: *Minutes of Haldimand Navigation Company Limited*, Letters Patent dated 29th April 1871 Charter, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[177] From: *Minutes of Haldimand Navigation Company Limited*, Letters Patent dated 29th April 1871 Charter, pp ii, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga*; General Journal 1870-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[178] Feb 13, 1872, *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp 13, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; From: *Minutes of Haldimand Navigation Company Limited*, Letters Patent dated 29th April 1871 Charter, pp 4, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[179] The properties were purchased between 1871 and 1874, according to the Indiana Land Registry Records, various page references, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[180] Hill, 1994, 131; In his capacity as overseer and general manager of the HNCo, George Hacon was responsible for repairs on the dam at York in 1876, *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp. 204, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[181] *Minutes of Haldimand Navigation Company Limited*, pp. vii, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[182] The Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga Ontario.

[183] *Annual Report* Canadian Bank of Commerce, Proceedings of 3rd annual meeting of stockholders, July 12, 1870, attic pigeonhole 20AB, #31 pgs 1-3, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; The Thompson Papers contain most of the Annual Reports of the Canadian

Imperial Bank between 1870 and 1886. See for example: June 1877, attic pigeonhole 20AB, #23 6 pgs, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[184] *1867 Gazetteer*, Haldimand County, xvi.

[185] Attic pigeonhole 33A, #27 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[186] Thompson paid $5561.44 for shares in the company in 1875, *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 294, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; From: *Hamilton Harbour 1826-1901 by Ivan S Brooks: A Transcription for the Maritime History of the Great Lakes* by Walter Lewis, (Halton Hills: Maritime History of the Great Lakes, 2001). Originals of Ivan S Brooks, deposited in Hamilton Public Library.

[187] As noted by Walter Lewis, "Chapter 12: Prosperity for ship builders", *Brooks,* 2001; As noted in a document dated February 11, 1880, attic pigeonhole 10A2B, #11 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[188] There were many examples of insurance coverage obtained through this company. See for example: October 6, 1879 $2000 coverage on Ruthven Mill, attic pigeonhole 32A, #4 front,; December 2, 1879, $1500 coverage on flour in storage at GWRR storehouse, Cayuga, attic pigeonhole 32A, #3 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[189] Note to David Thompson, Deans, from Canada Fire and Marine Insurance, Hamilton, January 8, 1880, attic pigeonhole 10A2B, #18 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[190] Note to David Thompson, Deans, from Canada Fire & Marine Insurance, Hamilton, January 3, 1880, attic pigeonhole 10A2B, #19, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[191] There were a few references to Thompson selling his stock in the company in the Thompson Papers. See for example November 17, 1880, letter from Canada Fire and Marine Insurance where they express their willingness to sell his stock, but "hoping he'll change his mind", attic pigeonhole 10A2B, #1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; January 17, 1881, letter from Canada Fire and Marine Insurance, Hamilton, where it was expressed that they hoped Thompson would attend the AGO and "retain his stock", attic pigeonhole 10A2B, #5 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; In February 1881, Thompson purchased a number of different policies from Travellers Insurance Company. See for example: coverage for $5000, attic pigeonhole 30, #1A; life insurance on Thompson attic pigeonhole 39, #1B front; and general accident coverage, attic pigeonhole 18B, #10, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[192] See letter from A McD. Allan, Insurance Agent and Abraham Smith, Merchant, 13th March, 1884, Attic Pigeonhole 10AB, #22, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[193] See: Memo #1 on the *Statement of the Gristing done in Ruthven Mill from 1st of January 1862 to 31st of December 1872, for Wheat*, attic pigeonhole 55A, #35 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[194] See: the *Statement of the Gristing done in Ruthven Mill from 1st of January 1862 to 31st of December 1872, for Wheat,* attic pigeonhole 55A, #35 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[195] See: the *Statement of the Gristing done in Ruthven Mill from 1st of January 1862 to 31st of December 1872, for Barley and Oats*, attic pigeonhole 55A, #2 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. By 1880, the profits were lower at Ruthven Mill but Thompson still made $1483.40 that year on total Mill sales, Attic Pigeonhole 55A, #32, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[196] There were a variety of grains gristed by the mill but corn was the most common item that was brought in by locals to grist, *Ruthven Mill Book*, pp 231-235, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[197] *Gazetteer for Counties of Haldimand and Brant*, 1867, 108; *Bills Receivable and Payable Journal, 1856-68*, March 15, 1865, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[198] *Bills Receivable and Bills Payable, 1856-1868,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[199] The lumber merchants were all local: AM Kinnear, Indiana for oak timber; John Donaldson, Mt. Healy, lumber; Thomas Lester, Indiana Lumber; A Sweet, Millfield flooring and lumber. See, *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 201, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; The machinery came from a variety of places: John Scott, Caledonia for castings; Thomas Willson, Dundas; John Gartshore, Toronto; Smut machine, Silvercreek New York; William Willson, logging spur and smut gear; Alex Baird, elevator cups and stone. See *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp. 201, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[200] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp. 201, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[201] Invoice from Thos. Wilson and Co., 27th August, 1870, Attic Pigeonhole 33B, #21 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[202] Memo #2 on the *Statement of the Gristing done in Ruthven Mill from 1st of January 1862 to 31st of December 1872, for Wheat,* attic pigeonhole 55A, #35 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[203] J. David Wood, *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-creation before the Railway*, (Kingston and Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 163.

[204] Agreement between David Thompson II and Canada Southern Railroad Company, 1871, attic pigeonhole 9AB, #19 front. Thompson later sued the Railroad in 1872 and was paid $880 for right of way on his land. Attic Pigeonhole 9AB, #25, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[205] A letter written January 2, 1872 from Alexander Taylor to "My dear Thompson", attic pigeonhole 41, #115D, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[206] Accounts from the Advocate Office, Cayuga, October 10th and October 16th 1873, attic pigeonhole 61B, #9 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[207] August 19, 1875, Insurance policy with Royal Insurance Company, attic pigeonhole 32A, #8 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[208] There are numerous references to Thompson selling flour, and later barley, through brokers. See for example: Canada Southern Railway, 29th September 1879, Rates to Halifax. St. John NB, and Boston were noted, Attic Pigeonhole 9AB, #35; Crane and Baird, December 23, 1879, who paid Thompson $1000 for receipt of Blake and Ruthven Flour, attic pigeonhole 63B, #45 front; September 20, 1880, CG Curtiss, Barley Merchant, Buffalo New York, attic pigeonhole 2, #23 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[209] Photo from Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[210] This was the name given the small canal in the contract between Thompson and the Stevenson's, January 1877, attic pigeonhole 33A, #10, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[211] Entries begin in Thompson's books for the company on the 13th of December 1876, as noted in: *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877,* pp. 273, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[212] It must be noted that most of the workers who were hired for this project worked 6 days per week, and 10 hours/day as found in the "Table of Wages", attic pigeonhole 53, #2, pp 24. See Time sheets for *Deans Hydraulic Works*, attic pigeonhole 14AA, #10 - 23 and attic pigeonhole 14AA, #1-8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[213] Indenture between David Thompson and two Millers who rented Mill lot No 1 in Deans, attic pigeonhole 33A, #10, 3 pages, January 25, 1877, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[214] Tender for building new dam and abutments around island, attic pigeonhole 14BA, #41A, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[215] Dam contract between WH Ellis and David Thompson showing particulars about erecting a dam, May 20, 1876, attic pigeonhole 14BB, #4 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[216] Letter from John Decew to David Thompson, Nov 1, 1878, attic pigeonhole 5AB #6, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[217] Part of the contract to build the new dam on the Grand River between Thomas Baker and David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 61B, #13C, inside right, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[218] Tender from Thomas Baker to David Thompson to build a new Dam on Grand River, December 13, 1878, attic pigeonhole 22AB1, #11E front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[219] Indenture made between David Thompson and Thomas Baker, January 2, 1879, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #11D, pages 1-3, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[220] See: Details of the Guard Locks designed by John C Scott for David Thompson, June 10, 1879, attic pigeonhole 14AB, #36 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[221] Andreae, 1997, 58.

[222] As noted from a hand written account titled "Timber and Lumber for Guard Locks", Attic Pigeonhole 61B, #13B and "Guard Lock Time Sheets" for May through August, 1879, Attic pigeonhole 14AB, #51, 58, 59 and 60, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[223] Receipt on account with Thomas Baker, attic pigeonhole 14AB, #30 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[224] Thompson paid out $14,756.09 between 1876 and 1880 in this attempt to bring water power to Deans and to build a new dam for that purpose. In actual fact, the cost was probably significantly higher because it is unknown how much he paid the designer of the Guard Locks. Additionally, not all of the timesheets were found amongst the Thompson Papers at Ruthven Park, Cayuga, thus the overall labour costs were obviously higher.

[225] This point was confirmed in a letter from Alexander Macduff in Deans to David Thompson in Ottawa, February 28, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #43A, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Account for Thomas Baker, Indiana with David Thompson II, Labour for Dam on the Grand River, attic pigeonhole 11AB, #9, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[226] Letter from Alexander Macduff in Deans to David Thompson in Ottawa, April 10, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #67 pages 1-4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[227] See: attic pigeonhole 57, #17 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[228] Tender for repairing Dam, June 20th 1881, Thomas Baker, Attic Pigeonhole 2BA, #67, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[229] I can't find anything that suggests that the work went forward but the document detailing how the break would be fixed can be found: Offer from Christopher Stephenson, Deans, September 17, 1881, Attic Pigeonhole 21, #33, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[230] Letter from AM Kinnear to David Thompson, November 26, 1881, Attic Pigeonhole 19B, #19, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[231] Letter from William Haskins, Hamilton Water Works to David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 17A-A2, #30 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[232] Letter from H. Harding, Hamilton to David Thompson, Deans, attic pigeonhole 17A-A2, #46 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[233] See letter from FW Fleu of Joseph Hall Manufacturing Company, August 2, 1883, Attic Pigeonhole 16AB, #15 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[234] June 14, 1884, Goldie and McCulloch out of Galt wrote Thompson a letter in response to his enquiry about belting. Attic Pigeonhole 16A, #48 front; July 10, 1884, Toronto Mill Furnishing Works replied to Thompson about wheat separators, Attic Pigeonhole 16AA, #47 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[235] The Mill was insured during this time for $2000 as follows, "$1000 on the building only of a Flour Mill four and a half stories high, built of frame and roofed with shingles, having three runs of stone and the machinery driven by water power, $1000 on the Machinery, Millwright Work and fixtures of the Mill." See: *The Canadian Millers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company*, Head Office Hamilton, July 26, 1883 for Ruthven Mills, Indiana village, attic pigeonhole 32, #31B, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[236] Letter from Adamson and Lamb, January 19, 1881, Hamilton, Attic Pigeonhole 1, #43, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[237] Letter from Alexander Macduff, Winnipeg, April 18, 1882, to David Thompson, Ottawa, attic pigeonhole 25AA, #25 pages 1-6, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[238] Letter from J.R. Adamson, Manager of Canada West Land and Agency Company, Toronto, March 16, 1882, Attic Pigeonhole 1, #17 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[239] Letter from Wm McKenzie to Thompson, September 3rd 1883, Attic Pigeonhole 28B, #53 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[240] All three of the farms mentioned were on Ruthven Homestead property.

[241] Information taken from a letter Coleman and Thomson, Toronto to David Thompson Deans, asking for details on the Ruthven Park property as it would be listed if sold, October 13, 1885, attic pigeonhole 38A, #19, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[242] Thompson's ailments were not always known but there are a few clues that some of his problems may have had to do with his lungs. In dealings with various local merchants, Thompson purchased tobacco. See for example, Accounts with Peter McMullen, 1874, May 31, June 6, June 14, Attic pigeonhole 33A, #38A p 445; It is known that Thompson himself smoked, see for example a letter from David Thompson III to his mother, January 11, 1880, "After Papa had taken a little smoke we started for Yorkville"; In a letter from AM Kinnear, Thompson's former clerk, Kinnear stated that he wanted to visit with Thompson to have a "long smoke and a general chat", Attic Pigeonhole 19B, #36, pp 1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[243] There were many personal letters and business documents that made reference to Thompson not feeling well although the exact nature of these ailments was only occasionally mentioned. See for example: Jan 8, 1874, a note in his personal diary "At home all day, sick headache", Personal Diary, 1874, Attic Pigeonhole 55A, #1, pp 7; January 11, 1880, letter from David to his Mother Violet "I suppose Papa will have informed you that we both arrived here safely... Papa seemed to suffer so much pain... I found the poor man in bed with one of those horrible headaches of his." Master Bedroom, Butternut Dresser, #43, pp 1; April 12, 1880, letter from James Stinson, Chicago to David Thompson "Glad to see you are all right again, Was in Hamilton the other day, heard you were not well", Attic Pigeonhole 40A, #90-A, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; Oct 10, 1881, letter from Alexander Macduff in Winnipeg, to David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 10AB, #51 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; March 3, 1884 SN Welford wrote a letter to Thompson in Ottawa stating, "Heard you have been ill", attic pigeonhole 36B, #21, Ruthven Park; 17th January 1885, Don Guthrie of Guelph wrote to Thompson saying, "I strongly recommend you take treatment when going to Ottawa. It is splendid for indigestion, constipation etc. If the right man is there he will cure you and make you feel better than ever you did in your life. I am sorry to hear you have been under the weather. Glad you are getting better...", Attic Pigeonhole 16A, #35 pgs 1-5, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; Letter from Thompson II son David, May 9th, 1885 "I was sorry to read of your sickness but hope, as you said at the time of writing, you were better. Diarrhoea if treated in time never or seldom ever amounts to anything serious, especially at this time of year", Master Bedroom, Butternut Dresser, #42, pp 1; 17th February, 1886, Letter from James Young, Deans to Thompson "It has been with much regret that I have heard of your illness..." Attic Pigeonhole 51, #5, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[244] Last Will and Testament of David Thompson II, May 17, 1873, attic pigeonhole 15AA, #3, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[245] Headstone for David Thompson, MP, Thompson Family cemetery, Ruthven Park, Cayuga, Ontario; Like his father, a definitive cause of death is not known.

[246] Headstone for Elizabeth Stinson, Thompson Family cemetery, Ruthven Park, Cayuga, Ontario.

[247] The earliest letters regarding steam engines that could be found amongst the Thompson papers was from WM Kennedy and Sons of Owen Sound. In their letters they detailed various elements of steam engine technology in April, 1881, Attic pigeonhole 19B, #20 and #22; there were a number of letters between Thompson and Goldie and McCulloch Founders of Galt. For example on May 30, 1881 they quoted Thompson a price of $4400 to install one variable cut-off steam engine 19 ½" x 13", a boiler with tubes, stone rigging and curbs, 1 hopper and hopper stand, 2 middlings purifiers, 5 bolting cloths, 1 Eureka flour packer for bags and barrels, belting, cups and bolts for elevators, Attic Pigeonhole 16B, #68 front and back; In June of 1881 Thompson received drawings and correspondence from Inglis and Hunter regarding the building of a "Steam Grist Mill". See for example June 15, 1881, Attic Pigeonhole 30AA, #49 and Attic Pigeonhole 23, #62; There was further correspondence in 1882 between Thompson and Inglis and Hunter of Toronto, Foundreymen and Machinists, who were interested in supplying Thompson with a boiler, heater pump and all steam connections. See for example, 14th July, 1882, Attic Pigeonhole, 37B, #105 front; Again in 1884 there was correspondence between

Thompson and Haggert Bros Manufacturing Company Lt, Brampton, who confirmed that Thompson's agent had paid for a steam engine but it is unclear where the engine ended up, Attic Pigeonhole 17AB1, #16, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[248] Gerald T Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield *Canadian Industry in 1871: Haldimand County Industries, 1871 Index to Manuscript Census*, Ontario County Series #8, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1991), 15.

[249] McCalla, 1979, 151.

Chapter 2 - Life and Labour in Indiana: What the Numbers Tell Us

This chapter will take a demographic approach in tracing the population history of Indiana for the rough half-century considered here. Its purpose is to discuss what quantitative evidence can reveal about such population traits as the occupation, class, race and religion of men, women and children, and how these affected their experiences, roles and relations in Indiana. The point is to tease out some of the obvious, and yet often overlooked, as well as the sometimes obscure, facts about a population that was in considerable flux through most of this period. The data demonstrate that the majority of the town was comprised of male Irish Catholic labourers, who were necessarily transient in their need to follow work opportunities.

i. The Sources

When I began my research into Indiana at Ruthven Park National Historic Site, I was given generous access to the Thompson Papers containing several generations of the family's collection of business journals, letters, receipts, cheque stubs, maps, photographs and other miscellaneous items related to the years between 1830 and 1900. I also searched contemporary census records, maps, gazetteers, historical directories, newspapers and many other significant documentary sources, in a variety of Ontario museums, archives and libraries.[1]

It is important to note that the vast majority of sources available to me through the Thompson Papers were documents reflecting the business lives of both David Thompsons, father and son. While I examined and used other

historical sources that supplemented and enhanced the data compiled about the townspeople, much of my evidence is weighted toward those who worked for the Thompsons, were close business associates, or were tenant farmers on land that they owned.[2] Nonetheless, despite the fact that many of the Thompson business records have been preserved, there is not a complete register available of everyone who worked for, or were business associates of, the Thompsons spanning this entire period. What is available affords a rich and varied picture of social and work relations, however, especially regarding the Thompsons, as the community's foremost social and business leaders.

One potential problem with the current known population of Indiana is the troubling absence in the historical record at Ruthven of documents related to the years between 1844 and 1850. Although there were journals and business documents connected to most years under study in the Thompson Papers at Ruthven, material for the late 1840s is scant. There were numerous references, in a variety of Ruthven sources that pointed to Indiana Ledger A; although Indiana Ledger B, covering the years 1860-1881, is in the archives, Ledger A is missing.[3] Additionally, Petty Ledger 6, which covered the years 1842 to 1844, had numerous entries noting that some of its accounts had been transferred to Petty Ledger 7, also missing from Ruthven.[4] It is puzzling that the Thompson Papers contain a correspondingly small number of other historic documents associated with the same period: it was during those years that Ruthven was built, and I expected to find any number of documents about the complicated building of such a large house. The construction of Ruthven required the hiring of

a great many labourers and tradesmen, not to mention the purchase of large quantities of materials, over an estimated span of twelve to eighteen months.[5] Because the remaining documents make reference to others, as described, that they once existed is evident, that later similar documents are present is also evident, suggesting that those documents were removed from Ruthven at some point, although reasons for this removal and its timing remain unknown. Because of the lack of documents to cover the late 1840s adequately, the data generated about those who lived and worked in Indiana during those years cannot be considered much more than an outline sketch of the actual labouring population at that time.

In reality, the exact numbers of people who worked or lived in Indiana over the years of this study cannot be definitively known, and consequently it is not possible to know how many people are missing from this analysis. Probably most underrepresented are the women, children and ethnically or racially "least desirable" members of Indiana society, among those sometimes classified as the hidden producers.[6] It is somewhat surprising that there is so much information about the Irish Catholic male labourers who were so important in the building of the Grand River Navigation Canal in the 1830s, collectively an undesirable element in Indiana society as they were in the province of Canada as a whole.[7] The majority of Irish Catholics were also probably illiterate; any knowledge of them, therefore, is dependent on the historic information left behind by others.[8]

In spite of the challenges presented by the documentation, 3,079 individuals have been identified as having lived and worked in Indiana between

1830 and 1900. Considering the wealth of information in the Thompson family papers and other related documents, there is little doubt that the population data are a unique and valuable resource for reconstructing the town's history. In addition, 1,115 individuals have been identified who lived in the countryside surrounding Indiana, or in nearby towns. Although these individuals were not included in this study, they are mentioned here because most of them had involvements in Indiana through trade networks, family and kin, transportation routes, political ties and social interaction.

ii. The Database: Assessing the Information

Turning to the historical data that has been amassed, it is necessary to detail how the data about Indiana residents was obtained. Initial organization of all the historical information was compiled in one large database, which could be searched and sorted to select out specific information on particular subjects. This database was generated by listing, on separate lines, all discovered information about individuals associated with Indiana: each new historic source about an individual has a corresponding line of data. Not surprisingly, there were many instances of multiple lines for a single person. In the end, there were over 10,000 lines of data that reflected some or all of the following information about individuals: the dates that they were in the town; their names, gender, ages, occupations, family size, relationship to head of household; the house number where they resided; the house construction and lot size; religion, country of origin, current place of residence; the source from which the information was

derived, and any other pertinent notes. The "Place of Residence" was highlighted if the person was known to have actually resided in Indiana at the specific point that they were mentioned in the documents. In many other cases, the person listed conducted business in Indiana, but did not actually live there. This was particularly true of farmers, some of whom were also labourers, whose primary income was derived from selling their agricultural products to individuals and merchants of the town. For example, David McClung, a butcher, did a large amount of business with David Thompson II in selling meat to Ruthven, as well as to the general store in Indiana, between 1852 and 1879.[9] McClung's family, however, lived on a farm near Cayuga, thus his wife and children did not have a discernable presence in Indiana and they therefore are not on the database of Indiana residents or workers.[10]

General labourers also form part of the list of those who conducted business in Indiana, but did not reside there for any length of time. These labourers were frequently transient in their search for employment, often traveling great distances to find work, which was often seasonal or sporadic. As a result, they did not purchase property or live permanently in Indiana. Instead they found lodging at local inns or boardinghouses, sometimes paid for by their employers, the Thompsons.[11] Since only a very small percentage of canalers, for example, found room and board among the local inhabitants, these labourers arranged their own temporary accommodation in nearby shanty towns of the kind that existed along most Ontario canal routes, because the typical contractor of the 1840s left his employees to find whatever housing they could.[12] Details

uncovered about a number of Thompson employees provide evidence of the presence of shanty towns in and around Indiana. Adolphus Young, employed as a cook by David Thompson in 1856, had his lodgings in a nearby shanty town paid by Thompson. In the same year, Thompson II paid for both Thomas McClory and Emery Williams to board in a shanty on the Brown Tract. In the 1861 census, Lawrence and Patrick McClory are listed as labourers who lived in a shanty. In 1862, David Thompson II paid Michael Martin to board men in a lumber shanty. In the 1881 census both Samuel Jenkins and John Overend are listed as labourers who were living in a shanty town.[13] The shanties that grew up along the banks of canals were so common as to be considered a customary part of all construction sites.[14] In the 1842 Seneca census, an entry notes that the Grand River Navigation Camps, which should be interpreted as another term for shanties, was providing temporary housing for the canal workers.

Due to the high incidence of transience, it is necessary to clarify exactly who was included in the population study of Indiana. The original plan was to examine only those individuals who actually lived in Indiana, but it quickly became apparent that, due to sparse documentation and the impermanence of lodgings, exactly who lived in the town at any given time could not be readily determined. Those who owned property or lots in Indiana often did not, themselves, live in the houses they owned, but rented them out.[15] Moreover, although all 117 lots in Indiana were sold at different points in the history of the town, it is still unclear how many of those properties actually had buildings on them. Looking to property ownership as a criterion, consequently, did not in itself

help to identify those who actually lived in Indiana. There were only 88 different property owners for the 117 sold lots, and of those, some owned their property for less than six months while 9 owned their properties for less than a year.[16] Even for those who did live in the houses that they personally owned or rented, the historical data is often lacking about who actually comprised each household, including extended family or servants.

Another complication is in the fact that, in some cases, the Thompsons provided housing to individuals free of charge as incentive for skilled workers to move to Indiana. This was particularly true if the worker had a responsible and highly skilled trade, such as that of miller or millwright.[17] They, like other workers who were less skilled or unskilled, had to move wherever there were viable employment opportunities; hence their lodging arrangements were often of short duration. Due to the difficulty in identifying exactly where people lived, it was decided to include those who lived and/or worked in Indiana between 1830 and 1900: taken together, that population provides a more complete picture of the actual lived experiences of those who were involved in town life.

In collecting data about people in Indiana, the starting date and starting occupation of each person identified in Indiana were noted, so that each person was counted only once. Although some people were in Indiana longer than one year and many had multiple occupations, for the purposes of consistency, except in specific instances as noted, the earliest available information was used in generating statistics about the population. Since many people had multiple occupations over the years of this study, the information gleaned in the statistics

does not adequately reflect the range of occupations of many Indiana residents. Thus there was a need to focus in detail on some individuals and on the varied economic strategies that they employed in order to support themselves and their dependents.[18]

iii. The Process of Identification:

To begin, nearly 4,000 individuals were identified who lived and/or worked in Indiana between 1831, when David Thompson first arrived in the area, and 1915, when the post office closed. Since David Thompson II died in 1886, and by the 1890s there were only a few people who were gainfully employed or resident in and around Indiana, the focus here is on the years during which the Thompson men had a recognized economic impact on Indiana, between 1830 and 1900. During that 70-year period, 3,079 individuals were identified as living or working in Indiana and Deans.[19] Of those 787 were female and 2,292 were male. The chart of men and women in Indiana, by decade, reveals an interesting difference between historical data and the information that I have compiled. The 1871 Census, for example, noted that Indiana (later Deans) had a population of 250, whereas my chart shows a total of 493 individuals in Indiana at that time.[20] It can not go unremarked, as well, that Thompson II himself declared that there were 3,000 people in Indiana in 1863. Whether he exaggerated, deliberately or

Chart 2A: Men and Women in Indiana, by decade

	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	Total
Women	16	28	172	269	171	95	29	2	787
Men	698	197	434	497	322	112	35	2	2292
Totals	714	225	606	766	493	207	54	4	**3079**

accidentally, this is still a considerably higher number than I have been able to uncover.[21]

Returning to the 3,079 individuals identified in this research, it is not surprising that there is such a disparity between the number of males and females in the database. First, it is likely that far more women were actually in Indiana than my database reveals, but because so many women were invisible, either because they were not employed for wages or because they did not leave written records, they are lost to historical analysis of this kind. Indeed, as historian Ruth Bleasdale noted about the Welland Canal, many labourers lived with women and children in family units: in 1844, she found 1,300 'diggers' brought with them 700 women and 1,200 children.[22] If such a trend were only marginally reflective of the general experience of labourers in Indiana, clearly far more women, both adults and children, were in Indiana than are recorded. There was also a significant discrepancy in the nature and type of employment available to men and women; as elsewhere, then, opportunities for waged labour, outside of domestic service, were greater in Indiana for men than for women.

A large number of men employed in Indiana in the 1830s found work in the labour- intensive process of building the canal and lock. In an advertisement seeking labourers printed on 27 May 1834, Thompson I indicated that "two to three hundred steadily laboring men will find constant employment... carpenters and masons as well as common laborers."[23] A second advertisement, on 10 June 1834, sought 1,500 labourers.[24] The fact that 698 male workers have been located in the 1830s means that the database contains only a sampling of the

entire population of male workers in that decade. The data available on these men and what they were doing for a living nonetheless fills in some important details about working-class life in this industrializing town.

iv. Occupations: The Workers of Indiana

Historian Douglas McCalla has noted that, in 1842, "there was a saw mill for every 542 Upper Canadians, a grist mill for every 1,176, a tannery for every 1,866, a carding mill for every 2,618 and a distillery for every 3,313." McCalla argues that the presence of all these industries indicate that a town was "fully representative of rural industry in the province."[25] What makes these numbers particularly interesting is the fact that Indiana had a known population of 225 in the 1840s, yet there were two saw mills, a grist mill, and a carding mill, along with two distilleries, by the 1850s.[26] Although lacking a tannery, Indiana had two tanners in the 1860s. Of course, Indiana did attract business from other small towns and the farms surrounding it, but such data suggests that Indiana's experience was typical of rural industry in Ontario even if the known population figures were significantly lower than those of McCalla's study.

In total, 166 occupations were identified in Indiana, 140 of which employed only men; 14 employed only women, and 12 occupations were common to both.[27] Included in the occupations for men were many jobs that required skill and experience in the building trades.[28] Specifically, there were 68 carpenters, 25 blacksmiths, 18 masons, 17 sawyers, 11 painters and 10 contractors.[29] Occupations exclusive to women were those traditionally "feminine", especially

domestic service: the category included 28 hired girls, 14 nurses, 7 cooks and 4 governesses.[30] In those occupations common to both men and women there were often situations where one gender was in the majority. Men dominated as labourers, store clerks, farmers and postmasters. The occupations where women and men were nearly equal in number were those of tavern keeper and teacher.[31] In total, there were 173 women (22% of the female population) and 1,975 men (86.2% of the male population) who were waged workers in Indiana during the years under examination.

Although I included a category where men and women were "equal" in the numbers employed in specific occupations, the wages paid to men and women were anything but equal. In the 1850s, the average wage paid to a female was .15 cents per day; by 1880, it had risen to .29 cents per day. For men, the average wage during the 1850s was .91 cents per day, rising to $1.25 day by 1880. By contrast, when the highest wage paid to a female nurse in the 1860s was .38 cents per day, the highest wage paid to a male mason or machinist was $2.00 per day. Conversely, the lowest wage paid to a hired girl was .10 cents per day and the lowest man's wage was .46 cents per day, a figure higher than the uppermost female wage. Moreover, in the 1870s, the lowest wage found for male labour was the .38 cents daily paid to a hired boy; the highest wage paid to a millwright or teamster was $2.50 per day. In the same decade, for a female nurse, the lowest wage was .15 cents per day and the highest wage was paid to a governess, at .48 cents daily.[32] These findings are consistent with those of historians Elizabeth Jane Errington and Marjorie Griffin Cohen, who stress that

women's active participation in waged labour was matched by the uniformly low wages that they received for work deemed "feminine" and consequently unskilled.[33]

No matter what occupation a woman engaged in during the nineteenth century, as Errington has noted, women's work was a commonality for Upper Canadian women. Most were vulnerable to the uncertainties of marriage and the potential dangers of childbirth, while sharing the male breadwinner's duty of making sure that their families' needs were met.[34] How women actually fulfilled their numerous responsibilities differed, however.[35] In the Indiana sampling of women who held occupations between 1830 and 1900, 22 percent of the female population was employed for wages, but 51 percent of this category did not specify any occupation. In generating the database for Indiana, two other categories for women were included, those of children and widows. There were 179 female children (22.7% of the total female population), and 34 widows (4.3%), who were generally not, in the available historical documents, found to have wage-paying occupations. Thompson II considered widows and orphaned children to be charitable cases.[36] In the male populace, there is a smaller group of 7.2% that have not, as yet, been accounted for. The remaining male population included 149 children (6.5% of total male population), 14 Indians (0.6%) and 2 widowers (0.1%). Considering that Ruthven was situated on or very near the land that was sacred to the Cayuga Indians, and considering that a number of Indians sold "land improvements" to Thompson I, it is reasonable to

assume that there must have been more than 14 Indians in Indiana over these years.[37]

Any analysis of this demographic information will instantly show that female children (179) outnumbered male children (149). It could be that male children were classified as labourers and not as children in the sources. There is also a notable difference in the number of the widowed in the female population by comparison to the male population. One explanation lies in the practice of recording the male occupation first, then marital status so that their widowed state was noted in a secondary place in the document. The opposite was true for the female population, in that the only identified occupation for widows was their change in marital status.

Apart from the occupational data already explored, there is a separate category labeled as "none specified" (ns). Eighteen percent of the population fit into that category, representing 152 men (6.6% of male population) and 401 women (51% of female population). These findings are consistent with prevailing middle-class ideals about male breadwinner family within the nineteenth-century "cult of domesticity", in which wives and mothers were not supposed to work outside the home. The majority of Indiana women did not declare occupations. Instead the goods and services they produced would largely have been for their own family's use, with the exception of those women who earned money raising chickens and selling other items such as butter and milk to the merchants in town.[38] Women who were identified as working for wages were employed in acceptable gender-typed occupations consistent with domestic obligations,

staying in or near the family home, such as running a boarding house. When they were employed outside the home, they were engaged in occupations that mirrored the societal expectations of women as nurturers and caregivers, such as governesses, nurses and servants.[39] Of course, such a finding clearly ignores those women who were outside of acceptable society. With such a large and transient male population in Indiana, there must have been a number of prostitutes in the area. As Constance Backhouse noted, prostitution was viewed in the nineteenth century "as something of a 'necessary social evil', required to accommodate male sexual needs."[40] Such women were not only found in larger centers, but as the *Grand River Sachem* reported in 1876, the "bad and disreputable class of women is found in almost every city, town, village and country," probably an oblique reference to their presence in Indiana.[41]

v. People on the Move: Transiency in Indiana

One of the most compelling pieces of the Indiana puzzle concerns just how transient the population actually was. Many scholars have noted the high demographic mobility of nineteenth-century Ontario.[42] Indeed, as Terry Crowley observed, people continually sought better prospects and cheaper land, thus population movement remained constant.[43] Bruce Elliott has noted that, "Whether rural or urban, North American or English, fully 60 percent of any given municipal population left every ten years and were replaced by other people coming in."[44] Despite such established findings, it was nonetheless startling to discover that 51 percent of the population actually spent 1 year or less in Indiana, and that an

astonishing 70.9 percent were in Indiana for five years or less and 81.7 percent for ten years or less.[45] What makes this finding especially significant is that much previous historical work on transient populations has been based on decennial census data, whereas this study accessed a large body of data derived from a variety of sources over most of the years examined, thereby suggesting that the population of the province may have been even more transient than previously believed.[46]

The question remains: why? One obvious reason for general transience is that the largest social group in Indiana, the labourers, was generally not tied to land. They did not own their homes; they rented from landlords, boarded, or lived in shanties that were temporary by definition. American historian John Gillis has also noted that the Victorian middle classes were generally renters rather than home owners, while Catherine Wilson has recently uncovered similar evidence pertaining to the high rate of tenancy in Ontario.[47] These findings help to explain why, for these people, "'home' was as much a social construct and a state of mind as a reality of bricks and mortar."[48] Such an explanation provides a partial answer but does not fully address the question as to *why* the population was so transient, a subject that will be taken up further in chapters 3 and 6.

In his study of Ontario, J. David Wood delineated three categories of settlers: the "transients", who stayed in an area less than two years; the "sojourners", who tended to stay five to seven years; and the "persisters", who usually became the families that stayed for generations in a given area."[49] One of the most interesting groups studied here consisted of those who settled in

Indiana for 31 years or longer, who represented only 3.5% of the total population.[50] This is the group that Wood classified as "persisters". Included in that group of men and women were four men who each lived in Indiana for 63 years, and who owned lots in the town over the last years that they were in the area. Three of those men began as labourers for David Thompson I. James Mitchell began working as a canaler in 1832 and then served as a magistrate, a treasurer for tax collecting and a deputy clerk of the court.[51] He purchased and sold lots in Deans and Indiana.[52] The second man, John Farrell, first appeared in Indiana in 1851 at the age of 12. He immediately began work as a labourer under the direction of David Thompson I's executors, but by the age of 18, he was already a hotel keeper, an occupation that he would pursue for the rest of his working years.[53] Farrell moved to St. Thomas and sold his lot in Indiana in 1914.[54] The third man, John Carroll, first appears in Indiana in 1852 as one of the original shareholders of the Indiana Bridge Company.[55] He worked as a plasterer and tailor for David Thompson II throughout his years in Indiana. He, too, bought and sold land in the town.[56] The fourth man, James Callinan, first showed up in historic documents in Indiana in 1852.[57] He initially worked as a private teacher and tutor but in 1860 he became the first teacher hired in School Section Number 8, Indiana, by David Thompson II, who was the section's secretary-treasurer at the time.[58] Callinan sold his property in Indiana in 1914.[59]

It is not surprising that people came and went in Indiana, as Wood found for nearly every Ontario Township. During the period, growth increased steadily, then leveled off and finally fell after approximately fifteen years of settlement.[60] In

that regard, depending on how "settlement" is defined, Indiana did not fit the overall picture drawn by Wood, as its own pattern of growth, leveling, and decline took about seventy years. Moreover, it took thirty years for the population of the town to begin to taper, as Indiana witnessed consistent growth between the late 1830s and the late 1860s, which is two to three times as long as Wood suggested for settled towns in Ontario in the nineteenth century. In spite of the differences in timing, what is important is that the general trend of growth and decline, as traced in Indiana, corresponds to that traced by Wood for the province as a whole. Also evident is the fact that transience was part of the mindset of much of Indiana's population, as it appears to have been for much of that of Ontario. In fact, for only a very small percentage of the population (3.5%), mass migration of people was the rule rather than the exception.[61]

vi. Children in Indiana: Work, School and Health

The matter of how age affected work, both in terms of the nature of employment and working conditions, thereby shaping the cultures of childhood and youth, is key to understanding the social history of this time.[62] Were there any child labourers in this industrializing town? How many died in infancy and childhood, and therefore never entered the working population in Indiana? It was possible to discover the ages of 1,168 residents. Included in the population of people with known ages were 394 who were classified "children", defined as anyone 10 years of age or younger. Of those, 40 were infants under 1 year of age. An additional 15 children were listed as "deceased", 14 of whom were

buried in St. Rose of Lima Cemetery in Indiana; the remaining child was Emily Thompson, daughter of David Thompson II.[63] The total number of deaths noted on the cemetery stones in St. Rose of Lima, for the years between 1841 and 1860, numbered 38; of those, 14 were children, 6 of whom were under 1 year of age. Children represented, in that cemetery population, 36.8 percent of the total number of Catholics buried over nearly twenty years. [64]

Dr. James Langstaff, a contemporary physician who practised in Richmond Hill, reported that, between 1850 and 1890, one in every 6 or 7 babies (roughly 15 percent) he delivered did not make it through childhood; other statistics place the number higher, at between 15 percent and 30 percent of children who died before they reached the age of ten years.[65] Susan Thistle, an American sociologist who studies African-American and white women's lives, argues that rural women gave birth to an average of 7 children in the nineteenth century, five of whom lived to adulthood, constituting a 28.6 percent mortality rate.[66] Comparing the information, the population of children who died in Indiana was the highest of all these, at 36.8 percent. Using such quantitative findings as a guide to estimate the number of children who did not live to adulthood in Indiana, out of a population of 328 children, between 46 and 120 children would likely have died. It must be noted that no burials were recorded for other than Catholics in Indiana itself, although various nearby towns, including York, Cayuga and even Caledonia, have records of Indiana residents being interred in their cemeteries.[67] Even though there is little firm historical data on childhood death rates in Indiana, it is likely that the residents experienced the loss of their

children at the same rate as the rest of the population, with significantly more than 14 deaths and perhaps as many as 120.

One of the most intriguing findings regarding the known population of children in Indiana is that 16 of them had occupations of various sorts: 1 male child of ten was a carder and 15 children, between 1841 and 1860, one of whom was an eight year old female, were listed as "labourers". The youngest male labourer was five years old. Historic documents reveal that one of the male child labourers worked for David Thompson I, but his exact job description and the location of employment have not been ascertained. Another boy, aged 7, worked for David Thompson II at Ruthven for two years in the 1870s as a "hired boy"; like the first boy, his exact job description is unknown.[68] The remaining children were listed as labourers in various census records.

Chart 2B: Children 10 years and under, by decade

	Total	0-12 mon	Deceased	Labourer	In School	African
1830s	0	0	0	0	0	0
1840s	6	2	3	0	0	0
1850s	71	8	9	0	0	0
1860s	161	23	3	13	29	4
1870s	118	7	0	3	57	10
1880s	36	0	0	0	25	0
1890s	2	0	0	0	0	0
	394	**40**	**15**	**16**	**111**	**14**

Although childhood in the nineteenth century bore little resemblance to the life stage and experience that it is today, if the responsibility of employment signifies adulthood, then adulthood began for one young boy at five years of age. For most youth, however, full-time employment usually began at around age

14.[69] To be clear, for the purposes here, anyone who was 19 years of age, or younger, but older than 10, was classified as a youth. Adults, then,

Chart 2C: Youth between 11 and 19 years of age, by decade

	Total	Male	Female	Waged	In School	Married	Deceased
1830s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1840s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1850s	44	22	22	10	0	3	0
1860s	111	55	56	48	29	7	0
1870s	82	37	45	18	43	0	2
1880s	36	19	17	5	18	1	0
1890s	15	5	10	7	0	0	0
	288	**138**	**150**	**88**	**90**	**11**	**2**

were those over 19 years of age. As such, there were 532 adults, 262 of them women, and 270 men. The oldest age reported for a female was 80 years and the oldest male was 78. Additionally, there were 288 youth, comprised of 150 females and 138 males. The combined total of children and youth with known ages in Indiana was 682, which was 56.2 percent of the total known aged population. Interestingly, 104 children and youth had occupations in Indiana, which represented 15.2 percent of those 19 years of age and younger.[70] The 1851 census indicated that almost 45 percent of the colony's population was under the age of 16.[71] What makes that demographic fact so meaningful is that, just twenty years later, according to the 1871 Census, the median age of the population in Haldimand County was 30 years, not "under 16", which suggests that the population was aging quickly and dramatically. That finding also suggests that the younger people were leaving the county, while the older ones

were settling down. Indiana did not follow that trend; by the 1870s, 40.6 percent of those of known age in Indiana were children and youth.

It has also been determined that 201 children and youth attended school in Indiana, 29 of whom did so in conjunction with working. Of those, 8 were children under the age of 10. One of the interesting findings on this group is that 11 children in the public school system were of African descent. The total number of children attending school represented 67 families in and around Indiana over three decades. Ultimately, the only decades that yield any information about the number of students in school are the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s. There is no available data for the earlier decades. It is assumed that this is largely due to the fact that there were fewer students after the 1880s, as the Indiana population aged, the town declined and many families left, and that those that remained were probably sent to school in nearby Cayuga or York. It must also be considered that the standardization of the Ontario public school system under Egerton Ryerson's leadership during those decades allowed for better record-keeping.[72]

From the dramatic rise and fall in the population of Indiana over the decades, it would be easy to suggest that the numbers of children attending school merely followed the same highs and lows. Such a conclusion, however, is far from adequate, as children attended school more regularly in the late nineteenth century for a variety of reasons, including the establishment of free public schooling, and changing social values and attitudes toward education.[73] In the 1860s children who attended school represented 7.7 percent of the overall

Chart 2D: Children and youth attending school, by decade

	Total children/ youth	# in school	% of total children/youth
1830s	0	0	0
1840s	0	0	0
1850s	115	unknown	unknown
1860s	272	58	21%
1870s	200	100	50%
1880s	72	43	58.7%
1890s	17	0	unknown
	682	**201**	n/a

town population and 21 percent of the total number of children who could have gone to school. In the 1870s, children who attended school represented 20.2 percent of the population and 50 percent of the children and youth who lived in Indiana. In the 1880s children who attended school represented 21 percent of the population of the town and 58.7 percent of those who could have attended school. In other words, Indiana provides a solid example of growing school attendance even with declining population.

vii. Race in Indiana: The Black Community

The Black population in and around Indiana was difficult to identify, considering the sparse documentation about this part of Indiana's history. While the Black population was included in the larger population database, it was considered worthwhile to attempt to disaggregate this group, to see what, in relation to the obvious racial classification, distinguished this community in Indiana. Reportedly, the earliest Blacks arrived in the area in 1792, after the first Legislature of Upper Canada at Niagara passed an act to abolish slavery. In

1819, Upper Canadian Attorney General John Beverly Robinson declared that "the negroes [are] entitled to personal freedom through residence in Upper Canada and any attempt to infringe upon their rights will be resisted in the courts".[74] Soon after, many former slaves came to Canada, and since the Indiana road was the only way to get from Niagara to the Grand River, many traveled through Indiana. Some of those in transit stayed in what became known as the Brown Tract, located on the first Concession, just outside Indiana.[75] Thus, 67 "African", "darky" or "colored" people were identified as having lived or worked in Indiana over the years of this study, constituting 2 percent of the total population of Indiana. Of those, 44 were male and 23 were female. In terms of possible occupations listed for the African population, there were 23 labourers (22 men and 1 woman), 7 farmers (all male), 1 fiddler (male) and 16 "not specified" (3 men and 13 women). In addition, there were 20 children (11 male and 9 female). The declared origin for this population is interesting, as only 8 individuals claimed to be from the United States. Of the remainder who revealed their origins, 43 individuals, said that they were from Upper Canada, Canada West or Ontario. Such a finding is not surprising, because it is unlikely that any would admit to being escaped slaves. It is, however, also possible that this population consisted of Black Loyalists. The 1861 Census revealed that "only one out of five Upper Canadians of African-American descent was an escaped slave; two out of five had been born in Upper Canada".[76]

Looking at the entire Black population by decade, 10 male labourers and 1 male fiddler arrived in Indiana in the 1830s and 5 male labourers in the 1840s.[77]

Chart 2E: Blacks in Indiana by decade of arrival

	Total	child/youth	adult	male	female	labourer	ns	other
1830s	11	0	0	11	0	10	0	1
1840s	5	0	0	5	0	5	0	0
1850s	9	5	3	4	5	3	3	0
1860s	9	3	4	6	3	3	4	2
1870s	25	9	16	13	12	1	10	5
1880s	8	6	2	5	3	1	7	0
	67	**23**	**25**	**44**	**23**	**23**	**24**	**8**

The largest group arrived in the 1870s. Only 7 individuals were still in the area by the 1890s[78]; just as was the case for the White community, there was a significant movement of Black people from Indiana to parts unknown. Of course, given that a cemetery existed across the road from Charles Duncan's farm, on the Brown Tract, some of the decline in population may be attributable to unrecorded deaths.[79] Considering how much race was a status marker during this time, it is surprising that even this much has been discovered about Indiana's Black population. What is patently clear is that this sector of the population was marginalized, isolated, and left to its own devices more than any other group in the town. Chapter 5 will further discuss the Black community.

viii. Faith and Church: Religious Affiliations in Indiana

Religion pertained to, and was reflected in, many different elements of life in Indiana. There were two churches, a Roman Catholic Church known as St. Rose of Lima and a Presbyterian Church, known as Thompson's Church in honour of its builder.[80] Church membership in the province appears to have expanded greatly between the 1840s and the 1870s. As historian Peter

Baskerville notes, "In 1842, more than one in six Upper Canadians had no church affiliation; by 1871, that figure would fall to only one in every hundred."[81] It was possible to distinguish 1,218 individuals in Indiana who declared a religion, none of which was outside of a Christian denomination. Interestingly, considering the general growing affiliation with churches, the self-identified Christian population in the 1870s represented only 57.2 percent of the total known population – a far cry from the provincial proportion of "one in every hundred" in 1871.[82]

Chart 2F: Religions in Indiana

Denomination	Male	Female	total	% of total
RC	387	274	661	54.4
C of England	110	161	271	22.2
Methodist	75	68	143	11.7
Presbyterian	46	52	98	8.0
C of Scotland	18	13	31	2.5
Baptist	6	4	10	0.8
Lutheran	2	0	2	0.2
Mormon	0	1	1	0.1
Protestant	1	0	1	0.1
	645	**573**	**1218**	**100**

As expected, because of the predominance of Irish Catholic workers on the canals, Catholics formed the largest religious group in Indiana, representing 661 individuals or 54.4 percent of the known religious population. The second largest religious group was that of Anglicans, or Church of England members, representing 22.2 percent of those who declared a religion. Methodists were the third largest group with 11.7 percent of the population, followed by Presbyterians with 8 percent. By comparison, according to the 1851 census for the County of Haldimand, in a reported population of 18,788, the Church of England had the

largest number of members at 4,211 (22.4 percent), followed by various Methodist denominations at 3,970 members (21.1 percent). Roman Catholics made up the third largest group with 2,005 adherents (10.7 percent), followed by Presbyterians with 1,429 (7.7 percent). Interestingly, 3,216 individuals (17 percent) in Haldimand County did not report membership in any church at all,[83] which is in sharp contrast to the 60.1 percent of the Indiana population for whom religion is unknown.[84] This can probably be explained at least partly by the fact that those known to be Roman Catholic appear to have had more limited occupational opportunities than were open to Protestants in Indiana; thus they may not have reported their religion in order to avoid job discrimination.[85] Further, since Thompson was reportedly not a religious man himself, he may not have made a point of asking his workers their religion.[86] Nonetheless, what is important about religious affiliation in Indiana is the high concentration of Catholics, understandable in view of the high proportion of Irish labourers, but distinct in comparison with the rest of the county and province.

The Haldimand County statistics are also interesting because, according to Baskerville, "Anglicans stressed acceptance of the social hierarchy and deference to one's 'betters', the Methodists emphasized fellowship, free choice and individual salvation."[87] To put this in context for Indiana, Methodists were the third leading group, not the largest, whereas Anglicans were the highest population in the county and the second largest in Indiana. Such a revelation may suggest firm support for the patriarchal and patronage structures that

functioned in the town, although it is acknowledged that patriarchy is based on far more than religion alone.[88]

One of the interesting details that emerges, regarding those who declared a religion, is found in what those individuals did for a living. There were specific occupations that excluded Roman Catholics, and others in which they dominated as a group. Catholics did not appear among agents and baggage handlers for the railroad, carders and fullers, coachmen, cooks, domestics, gardeners, grain buyers, machinists, millers, nurses, secretaries, section bosses, college students and tinsmiths. Occupations dominated by Catholics, by percentage as opposed to raw numbers, were farmers, farm labourers, hired girls and boys, innkeepers, labourers, merchants, and, of course, priests. There were also a few categories of occupations in which there were Catholics present but in a limited capacity. In the category of servant, for example, there were a total of 29 male and female servants in the Thompson family's employ over the years. Given that Catholics were the majority of the town's labourers, it was initially surprising that only 8 servants were Catholic. However, it quickly became apparent that there was a clear bias in the hiring process, whereby Protestants were given jobs that involved direct contact with the Thompson family. Catholics were not hired for those positions.[89]

It is worth noting that, despite the fact that Thompson I built a Presbyterian church in Indiana, the Presbyterian population was relatively small representing only 8 percent of the known population of religious adherents in Haldimand County, as well as in Indiana. Consequently, in keeping with his own paternalistic

and religious views, when Thompson died he left instructions in his will that the Presbyterian Church should be used by Presbyterians first and then by any other Protestant denomination interested in meeting in the church.[90] This notation in his will, at least in the view of his grandson Andrew Thompson, was thought to provide "a striking example of the man's broad-mindedness, for the distinction between various religious cults was strictly drawn in those days."[91] As noted, his broad-mindedness did not necessarily extend to Catholics.

ix. In-Migration: Where did Indiana Residents Come From?

One set of statistics that is particularly enlightening about the socioeconomic and political make-up of Indiana is found in those associated with the origins of the individuals who lived and/or worked in the town. To begin, out of a total population of 1,137 individuals with known origins, between 1830 and 1900, 258 reported that they were from Upper Canada, 74 from Canada West and 303 from Ontario, respectively. In addition to those already mentioned as having been Ontario-born, there were 29 born in Indiana. Thus, the origins of 664 individuals (58.4 percent of this population), in and around Indiana, was listed as

Chart 2G: Origins of Indiana residents, within Ontario

Origin	Total	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s
Local	29	1	0	5	17	6	0	0
Canada West	74	0	0	72	2	0	0	0
Upper Canada	258	2	2	40	212	1	1	0
Ontario	303	2	1	3	16	162	93	26
	664	5	3	120	247	169	94	26

Ontario. However, as Donald Harman Akenson has noted, "census authorities recorded only the birthplace, not the ethnic background, of each individual." Thus, the enumeration procedures noticeably underrepresented the origins of those born in Ontario.[92] In other words, even though 664 individuals were locally or regionally born, it is unclear exactly what the ancestral origins were for those individuals. Considering, however, that the largest group of people with known origins was from Ireland, it is also likely that a large number of those born in Ontario had Irish roots, perhaps as part of the pre-Famine or famine migration.[93]

Chart 2H: Origins of Indiana residents, outside Ontario

Origin	Total	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900
New Brunswick	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Quebec	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
France	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Lower Canada	9	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	0
Germany	19	0	0	0	17	1	1	0	0
United States	30		1	8	9	12	0	0	0
Scotland	40	2		5	12	14	5	1	1
England	89		2	11	18	33	18	7	0
Ireland	282	3	8	91	104	40	30	6	0
	473	**5**	**11**	**118**	**168**	**101**	**55**	**14**	**1**

From the population of those whose origins were outside Ontario, it is possible to extract information about the largest established religious group with known origins, the Irish. Out of a population of 281 individuals from Ireland, 219 (78 percent) were Catholic and 62 (22 percent) were from four different Protestant faiths: 45 were Church of England, 6 were Methodist, 10 were Presbyterian and 1 was Church of Scotland. This finding differs from Akenson's overall conclusion that the Irish Protestant population was roughly twice the Irish

Catholic population in Ontario during the nineteenth century (or a 2:1 ratio). As he contends, comparing the declared religion of those of Irish background in 1871 with that calculated for 1842 uncovers the fact that the "Catholic proportion of the Irish in Upper Canada has stayed virtually constant, not risen as one might expect following the Famine: it was approximately 34.5 percent in 1842 and 33.8 percent in 1871."[94] In Indiana the Irish Catholics far outnumbered the Irish Protestants, particularly in the years immediately after the Famine, 1846-1849.

Chart 2I: Immigrants from Ireland, by decade

	Total	Catholic	Protestant
1830s	3	3	0
1840s	8	5	3
1850s	91	84	7
1860s	104	85	19
1870s	40	24	16
1880s	29	15	14
1890s	6	3	3
	281	**219**	**62**

Specifically, only 11 individuals arrived prior to or during the Famine in the 1830s and 1840s, 8 of whom were Catholic and 3 of whom were Protestant, which is nearly a 3:1 ratio. On the other hand, 91 individuals arrived after the Famine in the 1850s, 84 of whom were Catholic and 7 of whom were Protestant; a 12:1 ratio. In the 1860s, the numbers began to look less dramatic, as the difference dropped to a 5:1 ratio. That equalizing trend continued in the 1870s, as the immigrant Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant populations were closer at a 5:3 ratio. Finally, in the 1880s and 1890s the numbers were almost equal. The point here is that, in Indiana, the ratio of Irish Catholics to Irish Protestants was never

anywhere near what Akenson found in his study. As Jane Errington has noted, what is clear is that ethnicity alone does not explain the motivation to migrate. Instead historians must consider the overlapping themes of family ties, rural and urban life, and the nature of waged labour. [95]

x. The End of Their Days: Death and Burial in Indiana

One final area that must be explored in this chapter is the population of those who died while residents or workers in Indiana. The data collected here was derived from a variety of sources, including the gravestones of St. Rose of Lima cemetery in Indiana, St. Patrick's Church records, records of St. Stephens Church in Cayuga, Haldimand County Estate Files and Probated Wills, obituaries, Land Registry Records, and various business journals and documents located in the Ruthven Park Archives.

To begin, the entire population of known deaths consisted of 110 individuals (3.6 percent of the overall population). Of those there were 21 children, 5 youth, 63 adults and 21 of unknown ages. 75 individuals were

Chart 2J: Age and Gender of Deceased, Indiana

Age	Total	Male	Female
Child [under 10]	21	14	7
11-19	5	2	3
20s	8	5	3
30s	10	5	5
40s	13	13	0
50s	14	8	6
60s	8	5	3
70s	7	6	1
80s	3	0	3
unknown	21	20	1
	110	**78**	**32**

Catholic; 16 were Presbyterian; 4 belonged to the Church of England; 1 was an unspecified Protestant; and no religion is known for 14 of the deceased. The chart above, Chart 2J, reveals a glaring problem. Out of 110 deaths charted, only 32 are female. In attempting to explain why this might be the case, a couple of points must be made. First, we know that women are under-recorded in historical documents. The available documents on Indiana's early years testify to this historic tendency, with few women and children showing up at all.[96] The numbers for women and men recorded would only even up near the end of the seventy-year period considered here. Thus a larger number of male decedents would be expected. It can also be surmised that a number of men died from accidents or injuries while on the job as many occupations, especially those involved in canal-building, were dangerous. As such it is important to attempt to ascertain how people died, in order to address this question.

Of 110 individuals, there are 18 for whom cause of death is known. One child was only thirteen days old when she died of "dropsy", as did her older brother who was thirteen years old.[97] A twelve-year old girl died of "H-disease" and a sixteen-year old girl died of "Congestion of Lungs".[98] Infectious diseases such as typhoid fever, "puerperal fever", a childbirth ailment, and dysentery claimed three more lives, including that of a parish priest.[99] A sawyer died from consumption in 1861.[100] Three individuals succumbed to accidents: one man drowned, one was burned and one was killed in a buggy accident.[101] One man of 72 years of age died from "senile dibility";[102] another of the same age from "inflammation of stomach"; one man aged 75 died of jaundice; and two others

died of "old age" at 76 and 81 years.[103] Surprisingly, only one woman was listed as having died in childbirth.[104] Finally, one man was the victim of a homicide.[105] Consequently, of a cohort of 18 decedents whose gender was recorded, only five were female. Hence the disparity in the reported gendered deaths is not ultimately as remarkable as it initially seemed.

It must also be considered that, out of a population of 3,079, only 2 percent was officially reported "deceased". This number is much lower than it should be, especially in view of known health conditions - the various epidemics, for example, that periodically ravaged the canal labourers, cholera in particular - that likely spread to other residents because its causes and containment were not completely understood.[106] The absence of legislation requiring birth registration at this time also meant that infants who were still-born or who succumbed quickly to neonatal health problems were very likely never recorded. As earlier noted, far fewer deaths were reported, per capita, for children than was likely the case. Additionally, even though several cemeteries are known to have been in existence, they have not all been located, limiting the effectiveness of that source in terms of reflecting real mortality numbers.[107] Clearly, even with out-migration taken into account, the number of known decedents barely hints at how many people actually died in Indiana.

What can all this numerical data really tell us about the population of Indiana as a whole? As George Emery has argued, "statistics are cultural phenomena, they require social interpretation" and their meanings vary for a

number of reasons, including how data is collected and how it is used.[108] Thus a social interpretation is required in order to make sense of so much data. Briefly, what can be said is that analysis of the quantitative data collected is most helpful in establishing trends, targeting anomalies, tracing changes and continuities over the period, and bringing to light some of the social issues that confronted individuals in Indiana society. Much remains to be explored in a town whose population was constantly in flux. Can we begin to understand, for example, in such a mobile population, what prompted a few residents to tie their fate to this specific geographic location?[109] Is there enough evidence to take the body of data amassed and discover the personal and hidden producers in all of these seemingly impersonal documents?

Peter Gossage examined a wide database to produce his study of economic conditions in nineteenth-century Ste Hyacinthe, Quebec, a fully industrialized town. He acknowledged the dangers inherent in application of "mechanistic interpretations" alone and advocated the layering of personal, social, ideological, cultural and economic data in order to achieve a balanced account.[110] It has been the intent of this chapter to begin to lay the groundwork for a balanced portrayal of the lives of ordinary citizens who resided and worked in Indiana. It has been noted that religion, age, gender, education, race, transiency and place of origin were all influential elements for those who made up its known population. The following chapters will probe further into the information outlined here by examining documentary and archaeological sources, thereby uncovering family strategies as well as some of the varied social and

cultural questions affecting Indiana residents during these years. The purpose is to allow the town to take shape and form, to bring individuals to the forefront, and to see how Indiana takes its place in the rural-industrial history of Ontario.

Endnotes

[1] The most helpful documents were those associated with the Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga Ontario, but I also utilized the resources found in the Archdiocese of Toronto, Anglican Church Archives of Ontario, Toronto; Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga; St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Archives, Caledonia; The United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria College, Toronto. In addition to the collection of documents associated with Ruthven Park, there was a considerable un-inventoried library of books that I utilized in my research.

[2] There are numerous examples of farmers who rented lands from the Thompson's, particularly in relation to Ruthven Park land itself. For example, the first one I found who rented Ruthven land was in 1852 when John Alexander and James Barry both rented part of the property, *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 53; Edmund Bertram rented 171 acres of Ruthven land in 1853, *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 64; John Lynch rented 63 acres of Ruthven property in 1854 for a period of three years and then Miles Finlen took that lease in 1857, *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 74, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. There were others in later years as well.

[3] The first reference I had to *Indiana Ledger A* was in 1839 when an account for David Rew and John Smith was transferred from *General Ledger 1834-1849*, pp 199 to *Indiana Ledger A*, pg 473, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park. This is only a small sampling as there were numerous references to accounts being transferred to *Indiana Ledger A*.

[4] Unless the account was settled from *Petty Ledger #6, 1842-44*, every entry in the book was transferred to *Indiana Petty Ledger #7.*

[5] Craig Sims, *Historic Structures Report: Ruthven Park National Historic Site*, Heritage Building Consultant, (Kingston, November 2006), 59.

[6] For only a very small sampling of the research that's been done on this topic see for example: Julia A. Hendon, "Archaeological Approaches to the Organization of Domestic Labor: Household Practice and Domestic Relations", *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 25: 45-61, 1996; Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc.,1993); Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, (New York: Routledge Press, 1988).

[7] Both the hidden producers and the racialization of the Irish will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly Chapter 5.

[8] The literacy rates of the Irish were reported by Kerby A Miller et al, as 47 percent for males who migrated to the Americas in the 1850's. 'For love and liberty': Irish Women, migration and domesticity in Ireland and America, 1815-1920, *Irish Women and Irish Migration*, (ed.), Patrick O'Sullivan, (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1995), 46.

[9] There are numerous entries related to the purchase of meat from David McClung in account books and documents in the Thompson Papers. See for example: attic pigeonhole 33A, #34 front, 33B, #17D front, 33A, #34 front; *Indiana Petty Ledger #6*, 1851 to 1859; *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64; Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860; Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870,* pp 156; attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[10] The McClung family lived near the town of Cayuga, which was not far from Indiana, as noted in the 1871 Census record for Haldimand County.

[11] Between 1833 and 1838, David Thompson paid Eleanor McKeefer to board labourers, *General Journal 1831-1837*; in the 1870's David Thompson II paid Ellen Barry to board men working for him, *General Journal 1870-1877*, pg. 10 and in 1879 he paid John Switzer to board labourers when he was building the Dam, attic pigeonhole 11AB, #9, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[12] Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840's" *Canadian Working-Class History: Selected Readings, 3rd Edition*, (eds.) Laurel Sefton MacDowell and Ian Radforth, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006).

[13] *Indiana Day Book A, 1854-1860*, pp 35 and 31; *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-1862*, Account #402; *Indiana Ledger B 1860-1881,* pp 218, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[14] Bleasdale, 2006, 30.

[15] There are numerous examples of those who owned property and rented it out. The Indiana Land Registry Records reveal that all of the lots were sold at one time or another but it is unclear exactly how many lots had buildings on them. See: Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga. For specific examples of leasing, there are rental contracts in the Ruthven collection for various properties in and around Indiana belonging to the Thompson's, but there are many other land owners who did not themselves live on the properties they owned in Indiana: Miles Finlen owned lots 5-6, 24-27, 43, 44-46, 49, 50, 61-64 yet he lived on Con 1, Lot 25; Wills Murdoch owned lots 3-4, 26-29, 110-111 yet he was a farmer who rented Lot 26 and dwelling on Con 1 from David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #3, 2 pgs, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Alexander Kinnear was a trusted bookkeeper for David Thompson II, beginning in 1860. He was a single man who purchased lots 3-4, 28-29, 36, B, yet he boarded at Ellen Barry's establishment according to the 1871 census record.

[16] This information was derived from the Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[17] In 1851 Thompson I provided David Ryckman, a millwright, a house for 2 years, *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*; in 1857 Stephen Fenton began working for David Thompson as a packer at $29/month plus he had free "use of Millers house", *Indiana Day Book A, 1854 to 1860*; in the same year William Woolaway commenced work as a second packer for $25/month plus board, *Indiana Day Book A, 1854 to 1860*; in 1858, David Thompson II paid Jane Shipway to board millwrights, *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64*; in 1859 he paid Michael Martin to board millwrights *Indiana Day Book A 1854-1860*, pp 294, all Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[18] For some examples see the biographical sketches in *Appendix A*.

[19] As already noted in the Introduction, the town of Indiana was re-named Deans in 1876, when the postal boundaries were expanding to include a larger geographical area. It was then re-named again in 1915 when the Deans post office was closed permanently, thus the area then became known as Cayuga.

[20] See: Gerald T. Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield, *Canadian Industry in 1871: Haldimand County Industries, 1871 Index to Manuscript Census*, Ontario County Series #8, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1991), 15.

[21] Dedication by Alexander Mitchell and David Thompson on the occasion when a cornerstone was deposited in the new Head Gates of Ruthven Mill, July 31, 1863, Attic Pigeonhole 12B, #3,

Front and Back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. See also: Bruce Curtis, The Politics of Population State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

[22] Bleasdale, 2006, 33.

[23] Advertisement, *British American Journal*, May 27, 1834.

[24] Advertisement, *British American Journal*, June 10, 1834.

[25] Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 94-95.

[26] The figure for the number of people in Indiana cannot actually be considered the correct number – as already noted in this chapter the relevant books for the Thompson's from 1844 to 1850 are missing in the archives. However, it would be an enormous stretch to assume that Indiana ever reached the population sizes listed for the various mills by McCalla. Although Thompson himself estimated the population of Indiana at 3000 in 1863, see: Attic Pigeonhole 12B, #3, Front and Back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[27] For a complete list of occupations for Indiana, see *Appendix B and H.* For information on specific individuals and the dates they worked in Indiana, see: *Appendix G: List of Names of People in Various Occupations in Indiana.*

[28] For a complete list of known occupations that males undertook in Indiana, see *Appendix B: Occupations for Men in Indiana by Decade.*

[29] In 1866 Thompson II had a new office built in which the following trades people were involved: Thomas Baker was the contractor, Peter McKay was paid for stone and brick work, William Barry for painting, James Hill for hauling lime and sundry, Alex Baird for eave troughs and pipes, John Mills for a Hot air furnace, James Kirkland, for 800 white bricks, Morris Shipway for teaming bricks, John Builder for building a counter, desk and drawers, David Lloyd as a blacksmith. An unknown other was also paid for installing a vault door and wooden shutters. The total amount paid for this job was $2364.69. See: "Cost of Office Built 1866", *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 64, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; See *Appendix B: Occupations and Census Categories for Males in Indiana, by Decade.*

[30] For a complete list of women who worked in Indiana, see *Appendix H: Occupations and Census Categories for Females in Indiana.*

[31] Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[32] For figures relevant to wages paid, see *Appendix C: Average Wages for Indiana Workers per day, for each Decade.*

[33] See chapter 5 for further information on this subject.

[34] Errington, 1995.

[35] As Cynthia Comacchio has pointed out, certain variables combine to make families "at once unique and universal". Some of those variables include: class, gender, age, location, marital status, religion and society's changing expectations of women, all of which had a direct impact on

what was expected of women, what they did, and how they did it. Cynthia Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 5. For a more in depth examination of these issues at Indiana, see chapter 5.

[36] This issue was already discussed in Chapter 1.

[37] For further information on the Native population in Indiana, see Chapter 5.

[38] This is consistent with Marjorie Griffin Cohen's scholarship in her book, *Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 10; there are many examples of this in the various business journals for Indiana. See for example: *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-1864,* pp. 43-44, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. In October 1859 Miss Cook and Mrs. Nelson were both paid for 3 pairs of chickens; similarly in August of 1861, Mrs. Thomas Finlen was paid for chickens, pp. 139-140.

[39] For scholarship on this subject, see for example: Meg Luxton, and June Corman, *Getting by in Hard Times: Gendered Labour at Home and on the Job*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Andrew C Holman, *A Sense of their Duty: Middle Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Cynthia Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Language of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives, Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press,1995); Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Leonore Davidoff, Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850,* (London and New York: Routledge Press, 1987).

[40] Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth Century Canada*, (Toronto: Women's Press, Published for the Osgoode Society, 1991), 330.

[41] The *Sachem Caledonia*, "Confessions", 1876.

[42] See: J. David Wood *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-creation before the Railway*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Peter Gossage, *Families in Transition: Industry and Population in Nineteenth-Century Sainte-Hyacinthe*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canada's: A New Approach*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1988); David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

[43] Terry Crowley, "Rural Labour", *Laboring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (ed.), Paul Craven, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 43.

[44] Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canada's: A New Approach, Second Edition*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2004), 247.

[45] See the chart in *Appendix D: Length of time people stayed in Indiana.*

[46] Elliott, 2004, 247.

[47] Catharine Anne Wilson *Tenants in Time*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

[48] John R Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 115.

[49] Wood, 2000, 28.

[50] In order to generate this information I created a spreadsheet with the earliest and latest known date for each of the 3079 individuals that worked or lived in Indiana. I then determined the number of years that each person was present and then I sorted the database so that I had a list of individuals from the shortest to the longest amount of time each was present in Indiana. I then computed averages for each date range I was considering.

[51] *General Journal 1831-1837*; *1867 Gazetteer*, Seneca Township; attic pigeonhole 4AA, #21 front; *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[52] Indiana Land Registry Records, Cayuga Ontario.

[53] Indiana Land Registry Records, Cayuga Ontario; *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; P Martin, *Michael G Martin*, unpublished manuscript 2007, pp 13; For the rest of his known career, John Farrell was an innkeeper as evidenced first by the 1861 census.

[54] Indiana Land Registry Records, Cayuga Ontario, pp 48.

[55] *Minutes Indiana Bridge Company*: original shareholder, reference number - X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[56] Indiana Land Registry Records, Cayuga Ontario, pp 40.

[57] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga

[58] School Section No 8, Indiana - *Minute book* of school, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[59] Indiana Land Registry Records, Cayuga Ontario, pp 19 and 42.

[60] Wood, 2000, 39.

[61] This issue will be considered further in Chapter 4.

[62] While I understand that "Age is a construct not unlike gender and race, a categorization of people without regard to their actual character and abilities," it is one construct that is somewhat quantifiable and therefore useful in generating statistics on Indiana. For a further discussion on this idea see: Gillis, 1996, 86

[63] Emily was buried in the Thompson family cemetery on Ruthven property.

[64] In the adult population of burials at St Rose of Lima Cemetery, there were 5 individuals who were in their 20's when they died (3 females, 2 males), 4 in their 30's (1 female, 3 males), 3 in their 40's (all male), 8 in their 50's (4 females, 4 males), 3 in their 60's (all male) and 1 in their 70's (female), with an average age of 51. This information demonstrates that Indiana residents lived longer than average, as according to John R Gillis, the average life expectancy for both women and men was the mid-forties until the 20th century. See: Gillis, 1996, 11.

[65] As recorded in the book by Peter Baskerville *Ontario: Image, Identity and Power*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002), 77; Gillis, 1996, 8.

[66] Susan Thistle, *From Marriage to Market: The Transformation of Women's Lives and Work*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2006), 19-20.

[67] Churches that have Indiana residents buried in their cemeteries include, but are not limited to: Cayuga United Church; St John the Divine Anglican Church, Cayuga – established in 1837; St. Stephen's Catholic Church, Cayuga; South Cayuga Baptist Church, South Cayuga; St John's Anglican Church, York; St Patrick's Church Caledonia.

[68] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 32, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[69] Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 37.

[70] For a complete listing of occupations for children and youth, see *Appendix E: Occupations and Census Categories for Children and young adults.*

[71] Peter A Baskerville, *Sites of Power: A Concise History of Ontario*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2005), 112.

[72] Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London, ON.: Althouse Press, 1988); Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? : Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (University of Toronto, 1992).

[73] There are a number of authors who have commented on education in Upper Canada. See for example: Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); RD Gidney, *Inventing secondary education : the rise of the high school in nineteenth-century Ontario*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Chad Gaffield, "Schooling, the Economy and Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century Ontario", *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, ed. Joy Parr, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982) 69-92; For a more complete picture of education in Indiana, see Chapter 3.

[74] As quoted in: Randall White *Ontario 1610-1985: A Political and economic history*, (Toronto and London: Dundurn Press, 1985), 84.

[75] *The Township of Seneca History, 1867-1967*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[76] This was noted by Baskerville, 2002, 69.

[77] There appears to have been a shift in acceptable terminology for those who were referred to as Africans, Darkies or colored. In the 1830's and 1840's, the most common term for the Black population of Indiana was "darky" or "darkie". The other common term was "colored" in the early years. Beginning in the 1850's "darky" was no longer used and the term "African" came into use. The use of the term "colored" lasted into the 1860's, after which the exclusive term was "African".

[78] The Duncan's and the Morris's were the only two families that still had members in Indiana by the 1890s. All of the individuals were adults and all but one was male.

[79] From Mary Nelles' notes, "The African Methodist Episcopal Church, Seneca Township", Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[80] For more information on these churches, see Chapter 3.

[81] Baskerville, 2005, 113.

[82] The figure of 57.2% was derived by adding up all those who claimed a religion in the 1870s (282) and then looking at the entire population in Indiana over that decade (493), then taking a percentage of those who claimed a religion in the town.

[83] Cheryl MacDonald, *Haldimand History: The Early Years, 1784-1850* (Nanticoke: Heronwood Enterprises, 2004), 108.

[84] MacDonald, 2004, 109.

[85] For more information on the racialization of the Irish, see Chapter 5.

[86] Thompson, *Something about our Family.*

[87] Baskerville, 2005, 86.

[88] Refer to Chapter 1 for more information on Thompson I as patriarchal.

[89] For more on this issue, see Chapter 5.

[90] Last Will and Testament for David Thompson, Feb 18, 1851 (Ontario Archives, microfilm, Court of Probate, RG 22-155, MS638 (68), Estate Files 1793-1859).

[91] Peter Russell noted, "The intense sectarian debates of the 1820's and 1830's often caused bitter divisions. Committed members of one denomination frequently praised their own clergy and said derogatory things about others, from which could be deduced exaggerated stereotypes of different churches. But from these mutual condemnations emerged a common picture of a 'good minister' as settled, active and educated while 'good people' were hard working and devout. People wanted a church in which preachers had the zeal of the Methodists or Baptists, and the learning of the Anglicans or Presbyterians, while the congregations would have the industry of the Quakers and the cohesiveness of Catholics." Peter A Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada 1815-1840*, Canadian Studies, Volume 6, (Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 111; Andrew Thompson, *Something about our Family*, Found: Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[92] Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, 2nd Edition, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999) 16. See also: Bruce Curtis *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

[93] Akenson, 1999, 15. See also: Curtis, 2001; Catharine Anne Wilson, *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

[94] Akenson, 1999, 27

[95] Elizabeth Jane Errington *Emigrant Worlds and Transatlantic Communities*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 171-172. For more information on this topic, see chapters 3-5.

[96] I have explained earlier in this chapter that the omission of women in the historical record is common and probably inaccurate at Indiana. Ruth Bleasdale has argued that on the Welland Canal there were 700 women and 1200 children who accompanied 1200 labourers. Since Thompson worked on the Welland Canal and since he hired many labourers to build the canal, it

seems likely the male labourers would have brought their wives and children along. See: Bleasdale, 2006, 33.

[97] Dan Walker, unpublished manuscript, 2007.

[98] Records of St. Stephens Catholic Church, Cayuga.

[99] Father Shea died of dysentery in 1873; Records of St. Stephens Catholic Church, Cayuga; All three of those diseases are bacterial, which suggests that the residents had inadequate water and milk purity.

[100] 1861 Census of Haldimand County.

[101] Patrick T Martin, *The Michael G Martin Family and its Descendents in North America*, Draft copy, Michigan, 2007; personal communication, Suzanne Hutty 2007.

[102] The inaccurate spelling of this ailment was found in the Records of St Stephens Catholic Church, Cayuga.

[103] Records of St. Stephens Catholic Church, Cayuga.

[104] This was not the same woman who died of Puerperal Fever. Death Records, St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Caledonia. This woman was listed as an "Indiana" resident.

[105] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[106] Bleasdale, 2006, 29.

[107] Information on known cemeteries is detailed in Chapter 3.

[108] George Emery, *Facts of Life: The Social Construction of Vital Statistics, Ontario 1869-1952*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 3. See also: Curtis, 2001.

[109] This is a concept explored in David Burley's *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

[110] Peter Gossage, *Families in Transition: Industry and Population in Nineteenth-Century Sainte-Hyacinthe,* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 10.

Chapter 3 Envisioning Indiana: Landscape, Built Environment, and Social Institutions

The popular imagination tends to picture the "pioneer days" of the nineteenth century in terms of romantic, even Arcadian, images of close-knit communities, fresh country air, healthy locally-grown food, quilting bees and one-room schools, to name a few of the more iconic. But such was not the reality for most Ontario towns that were industrializing, as this case study of Indiana demonstrates.[1] The previous chapter discussed the quantitative evidence, culled from such Thompson business documents as payroll records and bookkeeping ledgers. The following three chapters will revisit that evidence in an attempt to fill out the statistics with qualitative materials that will further our understanding of the human repercussions, collective and individual, familial and personal, of the larger industrial and technological transformations that so affected family, work and life in Indiana. As much as these can be known, the focus in this chapter is the regular, ordinary activities of the townspeople, how they experienced work and home, individual time, family time, community time and industrial time.[2]

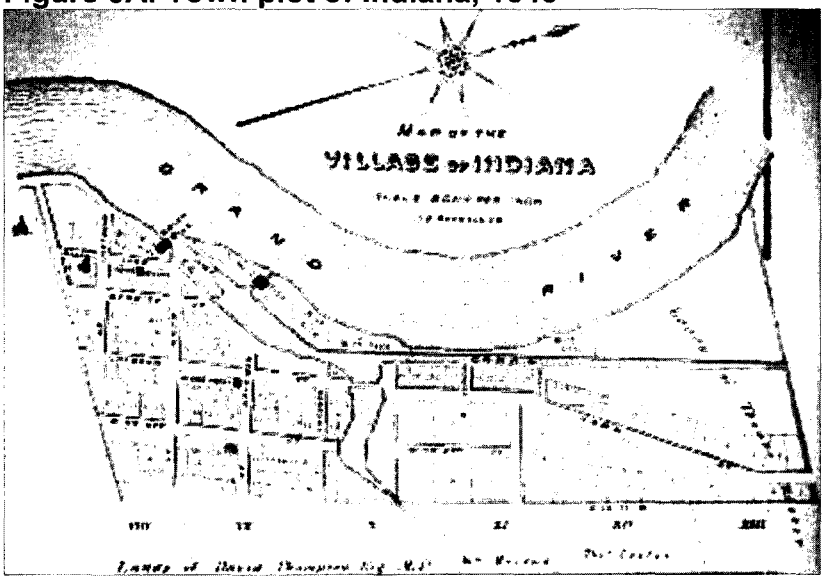
i. Environment and Landscape: What the Town Looked Like

One of the first questions people ask about Indiana, as they might about any town that "disappeared", has to do with its physical features, natural and built: what did it look like? Little physical evidence of the town remains, other than a couple of buildings, a cemetery and Ruthven mansion. Yet an understanding of the built and natural environments and how individuals interacted within, and with

those environments, is important to any picture of ordinary life in the past. Additionally, as archaeologist Paul Shackel has noted it is key in understanding how we *remember* our past.[3]

Typical company towns frequently featured such elements as neat, clean park-like settings, which were consciously designed and constructed to project a particular image of prosperity, efficiency, and other such values associated with the industrial middle class.[4] While Indiana, as has been argued, shared some characteristics of the company town, it also differed in a number of important ways.[5] Its industrial nature may not, ostensibly, have made it the kind of place for strolling manicured parks. Yet, the sketch of the town plot that was prepared

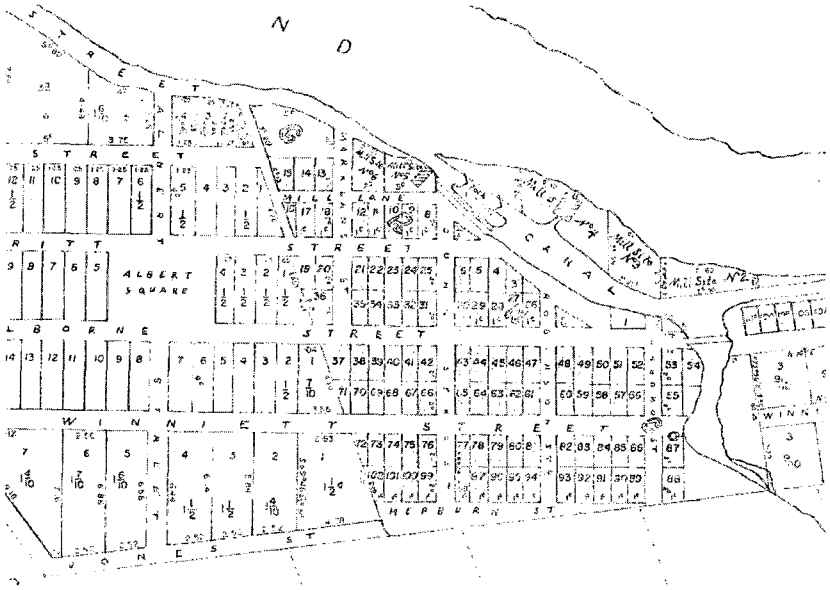
Figure 3A: Town plot of Indiana, 1846



in 1846 [Figure 3A] showed a very neat and tidy layout of the settlement.[6] A later plan, registered in 1870, and compiled from the original, showed an additional section enclosing a large area, labeled Albert Square on the map, which was designated as public space [Figure 3B]. Ruthven Mansion, which was on land

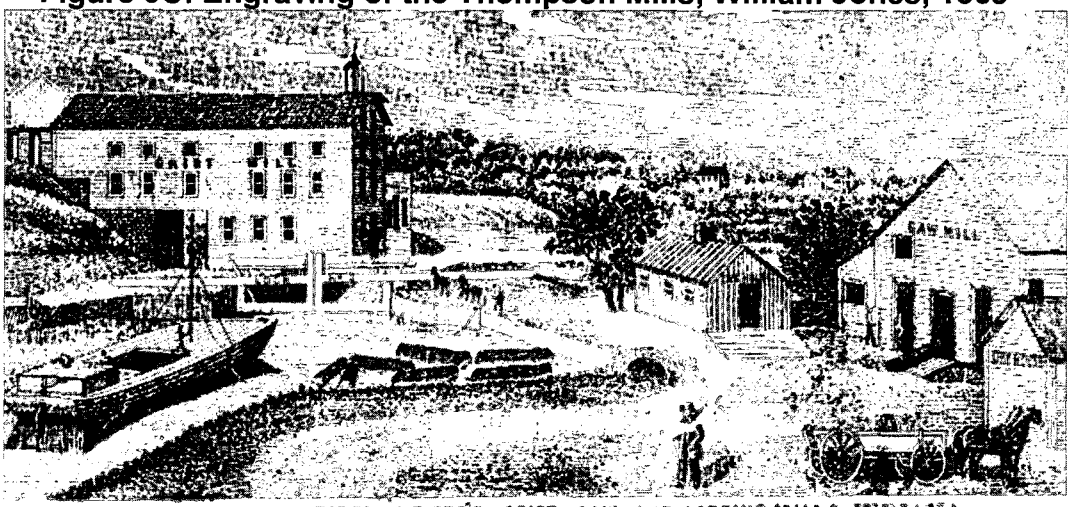
adjacent to Indiana, had manicured lawns and a long driveway that was tree-lined and inviting.[7] Nor was it only the house that was picturesque; Thompson II

Figure 3B: Town plot showing Albert Square, registered January, 1870[8]



believed that his mills were also worth the effort and expense to maintain in appearance, and even to commemorate. In 1863, Thompson paid artist William Jones to produce an engraving of the Thompson Mills [Figure 3C]. The

Figure 3C: Engraving of the Thompson Mills, William Jones, 1863

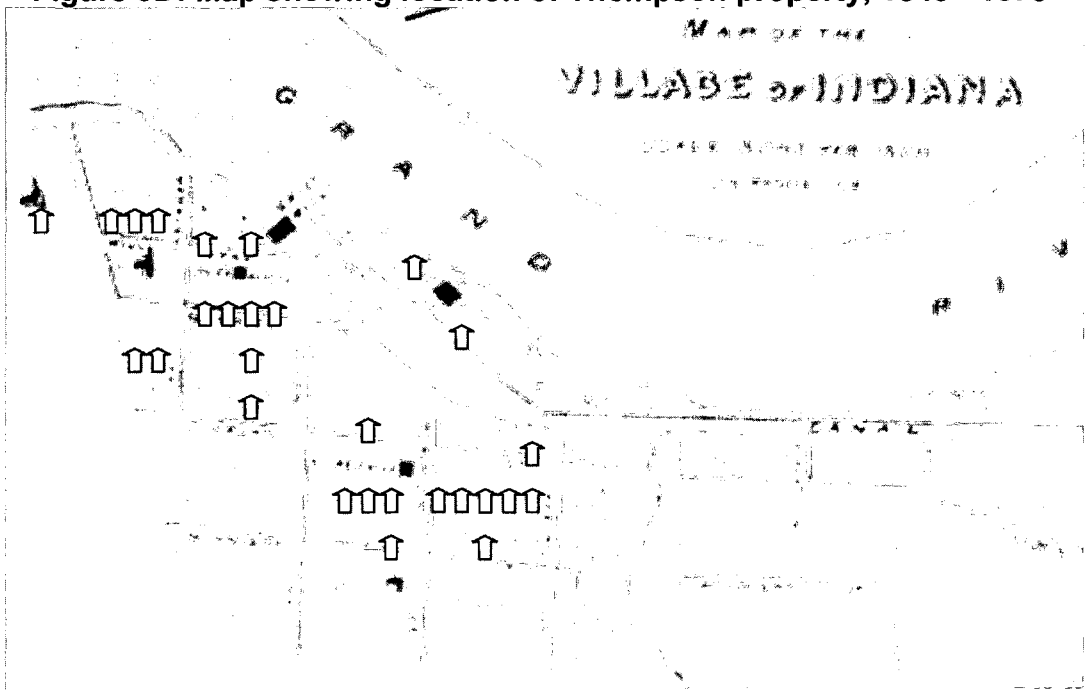


D. THOMPSON'S GRIST. SAW. AND CARDING MILLS INDIANA.

completed image captures the business, and Indiana itself, at what might be called the "height of their glory", with the Thompson businesses in the center of a successful town boasting a canal with bridges, tow paths, boats and horse drawn wagons.[9]

In the earliest known town plan, as noted earlier, there were 117 house lots, and 6 mills lots. The Indiana Land Registry Records reveal that all the lots, including two known as "A" and "B" that have thus far not been identified on any known map, lot "C", known as the Presbyterian Church, and lot "D", the Indiana Bridge, were bought and sold several times over the years considered here, some due to the bankruptcy of the GRNC. It is unclear exactly how many of the lots had buildings erected on them. What is known is that both Thompson men owned various lots and buildings over the years, most of which they rented out.

Figure 3D: Map showing location of Thompson property, 1843 - 1875



The earliest example was in 1835-1837 when Robert Reid rented "Indiana House" from Thompson I.[10] In 1851 Michael Scanlon, a labourer, rented "Kerr House" from Thompson's executors. [11] Millwright David Ryckman paid his house rent in full in 1852.[12] Michael White rented a house and a garden from Thompson.[13] Henry Upton and Alexander Macduff both rented lots from Thompson in 1879.[14] The leasing of property was not limited strictly to property in the town itself. James Rochester, cooper, rented the lodge at Ruthven mansion in 1853.[15] Although this list of those who rented from the Thompsons barely scratches the surface of information available on this subject, the salient point is that the constructed landscape also encompassed the impermanent state of tenancy.

ii. Poverty and Prejudice: The Development of the Shanties

As noted in the previous chapter, and as was true of industrializing areas in most of Ontario, shanty-towns grew where there were transient labour populations. A typical Indiana shanty was a one-room structure measuring only 8 feet by 10 feet, with a roof that slanted from 6 feet to 4 feet at the back. Doors and windows were cut into the log building after it was constructed. The floors were usually mud initially, but wooden floors were often laid at a later date. The fireplace was an open fire on a hearth with large stones backing it. The smoke escaped through a hole in the roof.[16] There were many shanties in and around the town between the 1830s and the 1860s. One such shanty was located on the Brown Tract, Concession 1, where, in 1856, Thomas McLory, labourer and log

cutter, and Emery Williams, labourer, boarded.[17] Adolphus Young was paid to be the cook.[18] In the same lumber shanty, Michael Martin was paid $29.50 to board John McMullen, Peter Leroy, Cornelius Greenman and James Greenman in 1862.[19]

As historian Lorne Hammond observes, "The standard image of the shanty man is of a somewhat wild and anti-social woodsman."[20] In reality, whatever their social proclivities, these were hard-working labourers whose transience led to their acceptance of substandard living conditions, and to their employers' rationalization of the same. The shanty-town, sometimes considered the juncture between industrialism and rural society, drew workers from a mixture of social groups.[21] A canaler, for example, typically shared accommodation with other canalers either in the barracks-like structures provided by contractors or in the huts they erected themselves. Of the 163 shanties built by labourers at Broad Creek on the Welland Canal in the early 1840s, only 29 were single-family dwellings. The rest were occupied by two to three families, sometimes also containing various numbers of boarders.[22] The shanty towns, however, often represented communities of Irish workers, "ethnic enclaves" in which the values, traditions and practices of the southern Irish culture thrived.[23] Because of the transient, often run-down and crowded nature of shanty-towns, and because they often housed those who were racially "inferior", such as the Irish immigrants, they had a reputation as ghettoes for the derelict, unscrupulous and criminal. Undoubtedly, when Thomas McLory was murdered in his shanty in 1862, Indiana's respectable citizens had their prejudices confirmed.[24]

The principal reason for the existence, and persistence, of such shanty towns despite the views of the respectable was economic: those who resided in shanties simply could not afford to live elsewhere, due to low pay and insecure employment. One contemporary noted that the unemployed regularly congregated along the canal banks, hoping to find work, and also because they had nowhere else to go.[25] Also because of their residents' desperate economic situation, shanty towns were often built from pilfered or discarded materials. According to contemporary government and newspaper reports, pilfering became the order of the day because the unemployed reportedly stole anything that was portable, not only money and food but also fence rails, firewood, and even livestock. While reports deplored this criminal activity, observers at least conceded that the cause was extreme poverty. Destitution was an ever-present part of life in the canal zones.[26] At Welland's Broad Creek Shanty, as Ruth Bleasdale points out, government officials counted 797 men, and a total of 561 women and children living in the settlement. In the fall of 1842, half the workers at Broad Creek were sick with malaria.[27] Largely due to the public health menace and the criminality, both real and imagined, the shanty dwellers, especially the Irish, were readily classified as dirty and uncivilized.[28]

iii. Indiana's Built Landscape: Expansion and Reversion

Shanties were only one of many realities shaping the landscape during this time as the provincial economy, by mid-century, became characterized by capital creation, entrepreneurial investment, and industrial growth. Clearing land

and erecting buildings were the most visible signs of this growth.[29] Property boundaries, namely farm lots and building lots in settlements, constituted the basic delineation of space at the local level.[30] As noted, Indiana was a well laid out town with clearly defined spaces, almost from the beginning, and the construction of various buildings and businesses was nearly constant from the 1830s through the 1860s. One intriguing element about the town's built environment is found in the fact that houses and buildings were routinely moved, salvaged and even rebuilt. In 1857 James McCue and Thomas Mclory were paid to move a house and to clear land for the Thompsons.[31] The same year, Edward Kerrott was paid to move a house.[32] In 1861 Robert Anderson was paid to move stables to the millers' lot and also for "raising a cottage".[33] In 1873-74 John Young was paid to move a store from Cayuga to Deans.[34] There were other instances when Thompson II helped pay for the rebuilding of houses after they burned to the ground. For example, in 1863, he offered Wilkinson McKay, a labourer, assistance in rebuilding his house after fire.[35] In 1866 he donated $4 to Thomas Bird, "a deserving man," to rebuild his house, also razed by fire.[36] The period's wooden architecture meant that fire was a significant threat to homes and businesses alike: both the Mussen and Kirkland distilleries burned in 1857.[37] Stores and businesses were also sold, forfeited or abandoned because the owners could not make their mortgage payments.[38]

The built landscape was, nearly as much as the population, fairly impermanent; when Indiana came to be abandoned, people removed whatever useable architectural elements they could find and took them off to sell,

repurpose, or start anew. Even though Indiana still had an operational mill into the early 1880s, there were signs by that time that other parts of the town were being abandoned or simply removed. Repeated flooding of the river banks onto town lots caused damage to bridges and mills, as well as the dams that supplied them with water power.[39] Industry was slowing, stagnating, and finally coming to a halt. As land use changed significantly and houses were abandoned by resident families that migrated in search of employment elsewhere, architectural hardware and lumber were salvaged and abandoned wells, cellars and privy pits were filled in to avoid possible injury. This process of "de-settlement" once again transformed land use just as the original settlement had claimed the natural environment for industry and the necessary homes and businesses to support it. As buildings disappeared, the return to open fields allowed plowing and farming to take place.[40] By the early twentieth century, the settled, built-up town of Indiana had reverted to the pastoral setting that can be seen today.

iv. Indiana's Pathways: Roads and Sidewalks

In 1862, a group of Indiana residents arranged a committee to have a sidewalk built in the town. The group was spearheaded by John Lynch, Michael Martin and David Thompson II.[41] They raised subscriptions to have it built "from the School House south to the first cross street and thence west to Colborne Street and then to the two churches."[42] Thirty-eight people, including one woman, subscribed money to have the sidewalk constructed. They raised $173 for this purpose. Thompson himself donated $50.[43] A number of men presented offers to

build the sidewalk. Thomas Shipway's tender was accepted on 14 June 1862.[44] He was paid in full for the sidewalk almost exactly six months later, in January 1863.[45]

As elsewhere in the province, the biggest land transportation issue was the state of the roads. In British North America long-distance routes were used for mail, passengers, and light freight; local roads enabled farmers to carry products to market and to mills. Geographer and local historian Christopher Andreae notes that, "by 1842, stages operated across Upper Canada/Canada West (Ontario), and by the early 1850s a trunk line extended from Quebec City to Detroit, with intersecting coach lines branching in all directions."[46] Upper Canada's roads, both main and secondary, have generally been described as having been in appalling condition. The merchants, officials, itinerant clergy, and other middle-class travelers who made these criticisms all sought reliable, year-round land communication. They complained that ruts, mud, washouts, inadequate maintenance, and the deterioration caused by freezing and thawing made even the best-built roads dangerous and all roads entirely impassable at times.[47]

Under the old system of local administration, most roads were maintained by statute labour: in each township, several appointed overseers of roads and highways doled out the work to the local residents.[48] In 1866, at a Township of Seneca meeting Patrick Farrell was "put forth as road master for the back streets of Indiana."[49] In general, because settlement was sporadic, roads adjoining or abutting vacant land, Crown or Clergy reserves, and those belonging to absentee

landlords, received little, if any, attention.[50] In 1867 Jacob Young wrote a letter to the editor of the *Grand River Sachem,* in which he commented that on winter road conditions: "The state of the road is getting worse every day, as the banks are wearing away, causing the road to become narrower, thereby endangering the lives of persons, particularly if by chance they happen to be traveling in the night."[51] The Editor responded with his own commentary that day: "The River Road from here to York is almost impassable, and entirely so from York to Indiana, as may be seen by referring to Mr. Young's communication in another column. Travelers between these places must therefore use the south side of the river for weeks to come."[52] Clearly, the deplorable state of the roads was a major concern, but time did little to ameliorate the problem. As Macduff wrote to Thompson II in early March 1880, "I walked to the Dam this afternoon almost to the knees in mud. I never saw roads worse than they are at present."[53]

Until the train began operation in the 1850s and 1860s, all transportation had to take place on roads or waterways. Transport by road was relatively fast but expensive and seasonal. Transportation by water was slow, inexpensive and also seasonal.[54] The trains provided the fastest and most efficient method of transportation available to travelers in Ontario. According to Donald Akenson, "The introduction of the railways did to water transport what, in our own time, the introduction of the motor car eventually did to railways."[55] This was certainly the case in Indiana.

v. Sacred Spaces: Churches and Cemeteries

Indiana's built environment included two features important to nineteenth-century society, with its integral religious underpinnings: cemeteries and churches. More than one-third of those who lived and worked in Indiana professed a religious affiliation.[56] As noted, Indiana had two formally recognized churches, the Catholic Church, known as St. Rose of Lima, built in 1841 and the Thompson Church (Presbyterian), built in 1851[57]. The only known cemetery connected with either of the two churches was the Catholic cemetery that was also named St. Rose of Lima, although there were a number of other burying grounds associated with the town.

Like so many early Catholic missions, Indiana was visited by a traveling priest, Father Cassidy, as he made his rounds from community to community. Indiana was first mentioned in the records of St. Augustine parish, Dundas, in 1837.[58] Father Mills was responsible for establishing the first church: in 1841, he purchased Lots 16, 17 and 18 for that purpose, and also to establish a Catholic burying ground.[59] Indiana was recognized by the Catholic Church as Grand River parish in 1846. Subsequently, two lots were purchased by Father McIntosh for the purpose of building a manse.[60] Shortly thereafter, in 1850, Father Cullenan moved the residence from Indiana to Caledonia, thereby removing its parish status, and Indiana once more became a mission.[61] In a letter to the Bishop, he explained his reason for moving the rectory to Caledonia as a way to allow him easier travel around the parish in the service of its members.[62] The cemetery associated with the church was used between 1842 and 1860.[63] Once the

Catholic Church was no longer active in the community, in large part because of the out-migration of Irish workers with dwindling employment opportunities in the

Figure 3E: St. Rose of Lima Cemetery, 2005

town, the cemetery was abandoned.[64] In 1950, Andrew Thompson wrote that all that was left of the cemetery at Indiana was "a score of leaning and fallen grey stone slabs with moss and decay".[65] As for the church itself, there is no known physical description of it, or even information about what construction materials were used to build it.[66]

When Ruthven became a National Historic site in 1998, the abandoned Church property was purchased from the Catholic Church by the Land Trust responsible for the upkeep of Ruthven.[67] Although the grounds were subsequently groomed by Ruthven's gardeners, the cemetery's history was only minimally acknowledged. That would not be surprising to Paul Shakel, who contends that the creation of any nationally significant site necessarily and selectively ignores the histories of those who had lived in the area, either simultaneously with those being commemorated, or at different points in time.[68] In 2005, however, a group of local residents began to restore the Catholic

cemetery and raise the head stones again in order to honour their ancestors.[69] Thus, as Shackel has argued, "Elements of the past remembered in common, as well as elements of the past forgotten in common, are essential for group cohesion. While collective memory can be about forgetting a past, it often comes at the expense of a subordinate group."[70] By raising the cemetery stones again, the historically subordinate group was seeking recognition from those intent on retelling the story of Indiana in the present, by laying claim to their own neglected history in the town. In 2007 there was a rededication ceremony to mark the

Figure 3F: Restored Gravestones, St. Rose of Lima Cemetery, 2007

restoration of the cemetery and the historic place of the Catholic community in Indiana.[71]

There are four other cemeteries connected to Indiana. The Young Tract Burying ground was reportedly located on the flats along the Grand River, south of Highway 54 and about three miles east of York on the McSorley Farm, which is north of Indiana. The burying ground was said to be a Presbyterian cemetery. Although we know very little about it, in 1950, Helen Nelles of Niagara Falls

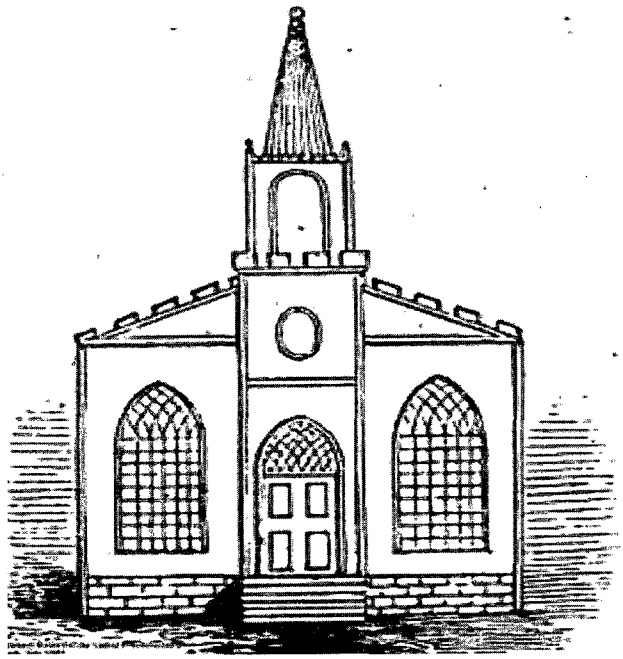
copied inscriptions on cemetery stones that dated from 1791 to 1866, recording names and dates of those who had been buried there. According to local historian Mary Nelles, at one time this cemetery contained family plots, many of them fenced, but as the cemetery became neglected, some, including the Nelles family, had gravestones moved to the York Anglican church cemetery.[72] The cemetery has completely disappeared and the land has been cultivated.[73]

A second cemetery was associated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, located on the Indiana Road to the east of the town. It was across the road from a church, shown on the 1879 Atlas of Haldimand County to have been located on the north half of Lot 21, south of Indiana Road. The church is thought to have been in existence between 1865 and 1900 but nothing remains of the church or the cemetery.[74] A third cemetery of unknown origins was remembered by several people, from the town and its environs, as having been located southeast of the Indiana school yard.[75] The fourth cemetery is the Thompson Cemetery, located on the Ruthven property and intended exclusively for the members of the Thompson family.[76]

The Thompson Church in Indiana began in a manner similar to St. Rose of Lima, in that visiting preachers attended to the Indiana faithful "on the circuit" before a church was actually built. William R. Sutherland, in a missionary report in 1847, stated, "I preached in Indiana, a small village conveniently situated on the Grand River. I was the first messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Canada that had the pleasure and privilege to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ among the forgotten residents of this obscure place." He went on to say that

Thompson intended to have a Presbyterian Church built in his village.[77] Thompson in fact did begin the construction of the church, but he died before it was completed. In his will, he left instructions for finishing his project, and also for the care and maintenance of the grounds around the church, "Provided always that no corpse or dead body shall be buried in said piece of ground."[78] His executors obviously followed through with his request: on 25 March 1851, the Church was officially opened by Reverend Ferrier.[79] A few months later, in May 1851, The United Presbyterian Church granted its application to recognize that

Figure 3G: Sketch of Thompson Church, 1851[80]



the Thompson Church was a congregation within the United Presbyterian Church.[81] Reverend Ferrier, in a letter written for inclusion in his missionary record in July 1851, stated that

> Indiana is a promising field of labor – it maybe interesting to know that Indiana is a most promising central position. To the south-west four miles, on the opposite side of the river, there is a large Scottish

> settlement, where I preach in the afternoons of every second Sabbath. To the north-east six miles off, there is new settlement of Scottish and Irish where I preach once a month. On the same side of the Grand River with Indiana, northwest three miles up, there is the village of York. On the same side, three miles down, there is Cayuga, the county town. People from all these places will come to Indiana when they have no sermon nearer. The prospects of increase are encouraging.[82]

Reverend Ferrier continued to serve Indiana from 1851 to 1860.[83]

The church itself was typical of Scottish Presbyterian churches of the time. According to Andrew Thompson, there were two square family pews with cushions, one for the Thompson family, and one for the Rogers' family (Mrs. Eliza Rogers was the daughter of Thompson I). As he recalled of his attendance at his grandfather's church, "The commonality had to sit on hard seats with very straight backs. It was to this place of worship that I went constantly as a boy, with father and mother and the rest of the children. We had a wonderful minister, the Reverend Alexander Grant."[84] Reverend Grant served Indiana from 1866 to 1877; in order to pay his salary, Thompson II and other Presbyterian residents paid a subscription to the Church.[85] On 8 January 1864, Thompson paid David McClung, butcher and Indiana Presbyterian church bookkeeper, his $20 subscription to the Indiana Presbyterian Church, $10 in gold and $10 in silver, as a contribution toward Reverend Grant's salary. By 1877, Thompson was donating $30 toward Reverend Grant's salary.[86] The same year he also donated $20 to the Sunday School Library.[87] Thompson did the same each year that Reverend Grant was the preacher at the church. [88]

Not surprisingly, the church occasionally needed repairs and alterations made to the structure. In 1866 Thompson II paid $102.30 for repairs to the

church: 3,100 bricks, labour, carpentry work, teaming, masonry, new stove and pipes.[89] After the repairs were completed, he paid William Berry of Buffalo to paint the church.[90] Then in 1872 he paid John McMullen $10.60 to dig a cellar under the structure.[91] No matter what improvements were made, the building was consistently described, for insurance purposes, as a "one-story Frame Building 45 x 30 with a shingle roof.[92] During the 1860s and 1870s, the building was referred to as a church; in 1885, perhaps due to declining membership, it was referred to as a chapel.[93] It was continually insured by Thompson for $1,000 between 1867 and 1885.[94] The Thompson church is known to have fallen into disrepair shortly thereafter. Andrew Thompson recalled that, sometime around the turn of the century, it was torn down. By then, he noted, "there were only a handful of people left to attend it, most of them poor, and there was a thriving Presbyterian church at Cayuga so the old edifice was pulled down, and the material used to build the house on what we call 'the Leitch farm'."[95]

In addition to the two established churches associated with Indiana, itinerant ministers from various denominations preached in the town, most notably Reverend Bold Cudmore Hill, who was appointed Grand River Missionary for the Anglican Church in 1838. He worked various towns between Cayuga and Caledonia on the Grand River. On 1 August 1842, in his letters to his superiors, he described his visit to Indiana, where he officiated as usual. On 8 February 1843, he wrote that he had conducted services at York, Indiana and Caledonia. Five years later, on 29 February 1848, he once again noted his

fortnightly visit to Caledonia, Seneca, York, Indiana, Cayuga, Norwich and Jarvis.[96]

A Presbyterian Church built in Cayuga in the late 1860s also served the needs of the local community. Indeed, in his capacity as Member of Parliament, Thompson II, along with Dr. J. Baxter, Member of Provincial Parliament, laid the cornerstone of this church on 3 July 1868. Thompson's speech on that occasion commented on the existence of four Presbyterian churches to serve the faithful in Caledonia, Indiana and Oneida; he saw this as an indication of the "progress of civilization and advancement of the cause of Christianity".[97] As noted in Chapter 2, 1,218 individuals in Indiana declared their affiliation with a Christian religion over the years considered in this study, so there was clearly some demand for churches and visiting ministers.

vi. The Social Scene: Status and Community Standing

Like other small communities across the province, Indiana social networks included leisure and sport, get-togethers of family, kin and neighbours, schooling, and policing, in addition to the religious activities already discussed. In her discussion of familial and social activity in Upper and Lower Canada, Francoise Noel concludes that it was through visits and calls, along with other social activities, that social networks were created and maintained, transforming neighborhoods into communities.[98] As might be expected for a family of their status in the town, as its recognized social leaders, the Thompsons actively participated in this sort of social interaction, whether through community events,

visiting or letter writing. Their on-going social participation also meant that they frequently recorded events and activities in Indiana, and also noted the behavior and whereabouts of specific individuals. As such it is possible to glimpse some of the networks and the sense of community that characterized the town.

Social status is a challenging concept to pinpoint, especially given the variety of occupations in nineteenth-century provincial society and their changing nature and "value" over time, the transiency of much of the population during the entire period studied, the very real threat of fluctuating fortunes and downward mobility, the evolving class relations and ethnic composition related to developing industrialization and urbanization. Location also factored into the status equation. In a complex urban society, the grammar school teacher, the shopkeeper with considerable capital, and the master mechanic would have held places of secondary rank, each overshadowed by those who occupied the commercial or professional hierarchies of greater standing. But in the far more rudimentary society of a rural-industrial town, these three would have held more esteemed places. The grammar school teacher, invariably male, was counted among the highest ranking professionals, and might legitimately expect to be appointed a justice of the peace or even a district judge. The shopkeeper would need to own the largest business in the area to be seriously considered for political favours. The mechanic, perhaps among the town's wealthier inhabitants, enjoyed the position of valued patron of church and school, eligible for a public trust such as militia command.[99] In Indiana, male teachers earned good wages and were involved in the town's public life, but mechanics were wealthy and even more

heavily engaged in town life.[100] Farmers and manual labourers were granted differing levels of status, depending on such factors as skill levels, ownership of property and whether they employed others.[101]

The Thompson records suggest that Alexander Macduff was easily one of Indiana's more memorable characters. While employed as a clerk in Indiana/Deans by Thompson II, Macduff regularly wrote to the latter in Ottawa, resulting in a significant archive of correspondence between them at Ruthven. What is most entertaining about Macduff is that he appears to have liked to gossip and he did not refrain from sharing his opinions with his employer. In one letter, he referred to a local resident as "a blood sucker", further commenting about him that "If you allow those "D-----d cattle to get their nose in anything, they are not satisfied until their posterior is in also."[102] In another letter he referred to a Peter T as "the old fool".[103] Probably alluding to his obsequiousness, he always referred to Robert Davis as "God Bless you sir", in quotation marks and exactly that way, commenting that he was an "old hypocrite" who was typically rude when he was owed money, while overly polite to those to whom he was indebted.[104] He made fun of Murty Mooney's Irish accent that led him to refer to his employer as "Mr. Tamson".[105] Macduff did not think much of Michael Madigan either, labeling him a "wiseacre."[106] He subsequently reported to Thompson that "Mister Madigan" was to host a dance before, it was rumoured, departing the town: "It will be a blessing if he does leave the village. I do not think many will regret or miss him."[107] In another letter, he recounted that Miles Finlen told Madigan he "could go to h—l, if he liked."[108] Macduff was also quite revealing to

Thompson in his personal views about politics, concluding one of his letters by saying that he trusted that "the Tories have not yet killed you."[109] In his characteristic blunt fashion, in a discussion with Thompson about the health and well-being of one of Thompson's tenants, evidently rumoured to have passed on, he wrote that "Mrs. Murray is *not* dead. I do not know how the story of her death originated. She is as good as dead however. She is getting worse all the time, and will doubtless die at no distant date."[110] Less than two months later, Macduff reported to Thompson that "she died today".[111]

According to his son, Andrew, Thompson II "knew his people well", despite the fact that, "He employed large numbers of very rough men in his enterprises."[112] In some instances, as might be expected, Thompson II had to take a hard stand with individuals who were causing trouble for him. In the first case, in 1866, Thompson paid James McCue to "carry Jeremy Monaghan out of the country". Monaghan, a labourer, was forcibly removed for reasons unknown.[113] In the second case, on 17 December 1872, Thompson paid two dollars to Joseph Highfield, an Aboriginal labourer, "on the condition that you leave the country at once."[114] Again, he was removed for reasons that were not made clear in the business journals. Other Indiana residents suffered ignominious fates which are, at times, more clearly recounted in the Thompson business documents. For example, Stephen Fenton, packer at Ruthven Mill between 1857 and 1867, was reported to have died in a New York State prison in 1868.[115] Bernard, also known as Barney or Bray, a long-time labourer in Thompson's employ from 1861 to 1881, was given a final mention as suffering

from an "Unsound Mind."[116] Charles McKenna, while Postmaster, reportedly "absconded with the funds" from the post office in 1868.[117] James Overholt was known in Indiana as "The martyr of AD 1863," because he often solicited the townspeople for help in paying his bills. As such, he was also classified a pauper.[118] In 1868, he "abandoned" Indiana and left his accounts unsettled.[119] Joseph Appleton was the only other person labeled a pauper in the Thompson journals.[120]

The Thompsons also noted the townspeople and employees whom they held in some regard. John R. Burger, a Thompson labourer in the 1830s, had become a clerk of the court by 1839. He was obviously valuable to Thompson because Thompson willed him the land he lived on, known as Lot 3 in North Cayuga, which was to be sold and divided equally among his children after his death. In the meantime, the rent to be charged on the same land was to be the equivalent of "a peppercorn during his natural life".[121] James Lynch, a labourer, was frequently referred to as a "pretty man" when he was noted in the journals; his marriage was also recorded.[122] It is difficult to know, of course, whether such an intriguing reference is a veiled commentary on the suspicion that he was a homosexual, or whether he was simply very good looking.[123]

vii. Education: Teachers and Schools in Indiana

Education was a growing concern in Ontario throughout the nineteenth century. As was the case across British North America prior to the establishment of a public education system, much of it the work of Egerton Ryerson, education

was rudimentary, voluntary and informal for most children, who learned at the hands of their parents or those to whom they were in servitude.[124] Production was family-based and in the home, thus the transmission of skills occurred on the farm or within the household.[125] Increasingly, schooling replaced apprenticeship, service or work as both the ideal and actual occupation of most children, thereby involving a transfer of "many of these customary familial functions to outside institutions."[126] Consequently, by mid-nineteenth century, schooling was becoming more important to families, politicians and religious leaders such as Ryerson.[127] At the same time, even such reform advocates as William Lyon Mackenzie used their newspapers to caution that women should not read too much, lest their minds be strained by heavy thoughts. In spite of such remonstrations, Upper Canadians did provide some education for their daughters, especially when parents wanted to be seen as morally upright and respectable.[128] In a highly patriarchal social system, however, it was understood that nothing girls learned at school needed to prepare them for any career or skilled work other than home-making.[129]

Indiana experienced many of the same problems with the educational system that occurred elsewhere across the province. As industrialization proceeded, education for boys and girls gained increasing support from parents who wanted their children to attend school to better prepare them for the emerging socioeconomic system. Rising educational costs made it increasingly difficult for children from lower income families to attend school past the primary grades, but as Peter Baskerville notes, middle-class parents began to pressure

the government for state support for schools.[130] The school section was probably the best known area beyond the environs of the farm for most rural residents.[131] Yet children who attended school were often "taken away" between the ages of twelve and fourteen to assist their parents.[132]

Pressure from parents and communities prompted the introduction of the School Act of 1871, which ordered provision for free common schools in each municipality. The new law also stipulated that all Ontario children between the ages of seven and twelve had to attend some school for at least four months of any given school year. In order to pay for these changes, the law placed the responsibility for schooling in the hands of local governments, which were required to raise taxes equal to at least one-half of the provincial grant for any given school.[133] The taxation issue raises questions about timing: when did local public support shift, from a voluntary financing of schools to compulsory taxation for their support, in Indiana.[134] Already in 1869, David Thompson and Isaac Geddes, acting as school trustees for School Section No. 8, had pushed through local taxation to help pay the salaries of teachers.[135]

In the early nineteenth century, the basic criteria for hiring a common school teacher were literacy and good character. For students in common school, the ability to read, write and undertake rudimentary math had long been the basic goal.[136] Common school boards, especially in isolated rural areas, hired whomever they could, which sometimes meant taking the lowest bidder.[137] No doubt because women could be paid less than their male counterparts, and were thought to be innately nurturing, primary school teaching quickly became

feminized. The first woman hired to teach primary school in Indiana was Isabella Murdoch in 1866.[138]

The grammar school, which became known as secondary school after the 1850s, serviced those children who were already educated beyond the rudiments of literacy.[139] In 1866, the *Grand River Sachem* reported that the Council for Public Institutions for Upper Canada published Grammar School Regulations establishing the criteria for admitting children to school. A pupil, in order to be admitted to grammar school, had to be able: "1st - to read intelligibly a lesson from any common reading book; 2nd – to spell correctly the words of any ordinary sentence; 3rd – to write a fair hand; 4th – to work questions in the rules of arithmetic; 5th – Must know the rudiments of English grammar".[140] Grammar school teachers served as 'jack-of-all-trades', teaching Latin, Greek, mathematics, philosophy, and frequently practical courses such as bookkeeping and surveying.[141] Except for the sons of affluent families, such as that of the Thompsons, the elevated reaches of the grammar school were rarely attained.[142]

By 1867, the government had developed criteria for certifying teachers. By 1871 there were rules surrounding the courses of study, school books, school rules and prayers in schools.[143] The governing bodies in Ontario felt that it was necessary to intervene in public school education because, as Alison Prentice notes, "There had been one teacher for every thirty-five pupils in 1846; thirty years later the ratio of registered pupils to teachers was seventy-five to one." Further, the length of time schools were open during the year expanded from 8½ months in 1846 to 11½ months in 1876.[144]

In addition to the structural changes in schooling as education became public and compulsory, its very nature underwent fundamental changes during this time, particularly in terms of the ways that students' needs were viewed. Children were increasingly seen to be different from adults. Not only was their "innocence" in need of protection, but also, as various educators pointed out, they had a "special need of activity" in learning to reason and to "arrive at conclusions."[145] In a society characterized by migration, educators also promoted what they accepted as standard grammatical English, which emphasized pronunciation that was "neither 'lower class', American nor Irish."[146] Such an ethnocentric view of standardized English pronunciation must have caused considerable anxiety for more than one Irish Catholic teacher, not to mention students, in Indiana.

There were eighteen teachers hired in Indiana between 1835 and 1891.[147] During that time, at least two different buildings are known to have been used as schoolhouses. The earliest known schoolhouse was first noted in the Thompson journals in 1852, when it was the setting for public meetings for the Indiana Bridge Company.[148] Little is known about that building except that various workers were hired to do repairs on it. For example, in 1861, Edward Monaghan was hired as a labourer at the schoolhouse and in 1862 William Herrod was paid $5 to plaster the schoolhouse.[149] The 1861 Census for Haldimand County recorded that James Callinan had forty students, on average, in his school in Indiana.[150]

The second schoolhouse was built in the 1870s. On 5 December 1872, the deed for the school on lot 85 was registered to the Trustees of School Section No 8, Township Seneca.[151] Early in 1873, SSNo8 paid for plans and specifications for a new school in Indiana, drawn up by architect James Baker. Peter McKay, as the contractor, was paid $1,570 to build the school in November 1873.[152] In 1876, the schoolhouse was insured for $1,100 by one of the trustees of School Section No. 8, namely David Thompson II. The school was listed as a "brick building occupied as a schoolhouse situated on the east side of Winnette Street, in the village of Indiana."[153]

Chart 3A: Teachers in Indiana, by decade

Decade	Men	Women
1830s	2	0
1840s	2	0
1850s	1	0
1860s	4	0
1870s	2	1
1880s	0	6
1890s	0	4
1900s	0	0
	11	11

Miss Agnes Turnbull was the first female teacher hired in the new school in 1874 and she continued teaching in Indiana until 1884.[154] As a female teacher, she must have had her hands full with the young men under her tutelage, as this incident, reported by Alexander Macduff to David Thompson when he was in Ottawa in February 1880:

The nature of the (?) at school was that some of the boys were destroying or marking walls or doors (not sure which). The teacher could not buy inquiries about who the guilty ones were, so she told them all she would punish the first

one she noticed repeating it. Shortly after she got one of Jas McGovern's boys in the act and she was to punish him: this he would not submit to neither would he leave the school so she notified the trustees, hence W Lynch's official visit. The trustees sustained the teacher and the boy I believe has taken his books away...[155]

It was admirable that the trustees supported the teacher in this dispute, but there is little doubt that such a job was particularly challenging for women, who were generally not respected as educators beyond the primary school grades, making the "handling" of older boys at times difficult.

For wealthy individuals, there were various options beyond public school. Thompson II attended a private boy's school run by William Tassie in Galt, reportedly the best of its kind.[156] In his turn, Thompson employed Protestant governesses to teach his children at Ruthven between 1865 and 1880.[157] The governess held one of the highest positions accorded a female employee in the Thompson household, granting her status at a point between the servants and the family. She would usually be a young woman from a respectable family, carefully hired to serve, and live with, the families of people of her own class.[158] Thompson II also paid Reverend Grant for 29 hours of tuition in 1874, and 20 hours in 1875, for his son David, who went on to Upper Canada College in 1877.[159] His son Andrew went to law school.[160]

Closely related to the subject of education is the problem of illiteracy. The 1871 census focused on illiteracy, requesting information as to whether individuals could read or write. In Indiana, there were surprisingly only twelve people who admitted to being illiterate (could neither read nor write). Less surprising is the fact that eight of those listed as illiterate were women, two of

whom were Roman Catholic, and the remainder Protestant. Among the illiterate men, three were Roman Catholic and one was an African Baptist. By the 1871 census, many children in Indiana should have received at least the basics of literacy and numeracy as these would come to be defined in the School Act of that year, whether in the town itself or in previous familial places of residence, which at least partially explains the low illiteracy level.[161] There is no data available on literacy rates in Indiana prior to 1871. Since a number of people signed quit claim deeds and other legal documents with an X, during the 1840s in particular, illiteracy was a problem more widespread in the earlier days of Indiana's history than it was by the time of the 1871 census.

viii. Leisure Time: Sporting and Cultural Events

The everyday life of Indiana residents encompassed much more than labour, waged and unwaged, and schooling for children, as important as these were for most families. The records indicate that a number of leisure and cultural opportunities were available to them, and that participation seems to have been enthusiastic. Although middle-class Victorians entertained at home "with considerable formality," an ever-changing population in Indiana must have made it difficult to maintain much more than a semblance of formal rituals. For those who aspired to middle-class customs and the "respectability" that they implied, there was always recourse to published etiquette manuals and other advice literature, usually aimed at women, and intended to improve their domestic social skills. [162] While rules and guidelines were important in the private domain,

especially when it was opened to guests, there were many less formal forms of recreation than tea and dinner parties and "at homes". As Andrew Thompson observed, "The village, like any community predominantly Irish, seldom lacked for fun."[163] The pastimes that they enjoyed included the racetrack, various sporting events, dances, musical soirees and drinking, depending, of course, on the gender, ethnicity, age and class of those who participated.

The Cayuga Race Course and Agricultural Grounds were located on "Young's Island, north of where Indiana stood", an area encompassing fifteen acres of land that held events of great popular appeal to the locals.[164] The track was managed, in 1867, by Benjamin Baxter and Joshua Mason, along with William Hall, proprietor of the Exchange Hotel.[165] An Indiana resident, John J. Farrell, owned "a well known and successful stable of thoroughbred race horses, one of these, named Erin, being one of the best known race horses of that period and winning many races and cups for his owner."[166] But there were many others who enjoyed the races without owning horses, such as Luke Mcglochlin who borrowed some cash from Thompson II, in 1855, for "going to the races".[167] In 1867, Thompson himself spent $20 at the Cayuga Race Course.[168] Residents also avidly attended agricultural events outside of the town; in 1862, Thompson II purchased tickets for himself and Thomas Slaven to attend the Provincial Agricultural Fair in London, Ontario. He also bought tickets to a ploughing match.[169]

A number of local Indiana residents were also engaged in the game of handball, as competitors as well as spectators. John Farrell and Charles

McKenna were celebrated players, joining two others in a foursome to play a match in Toronto, against a Toronto team, on 29 September 1866. The prize was $200. It was reported that the game was well contested and the excitement intense and the Indiana team won.[170] The Indiana players, John Farrell and Charles McKenna, were "champion handball players of America" during the years in which they actively engaged in the sport, despite the challenges of travelling over primitive roads. Farrell, in particular, drove long distances in order to participate in handball contests; the furthest match was in Buffalo, New York.[171]

Problems of transportation were not the only concerns of local ball players. The men wanted to play in "ball alley every Sunday afternoon". However, this was frowned upon by those who thought such Sunday events to be "openly sinful". A letter to the editor of the *Sachem*, from "Conscience," condemned this practice.[172] Miles Finlen, who owned a well-known tavern in Indiana, even made a formal complaint to the Justice of the Peace, David Thompson, that John's brother "Patrick Farrell of the Village of Indiana has on his premises a Ball Court which he keeps open on Sundays and allows the game of Ball to be played thereon and has kept it open within the last three months."[173] Three days later Finlen again made a formal complaint to the Justice of the Peace that "Patrick Farrell, Nicholas Larkin and Charles Farrell on Wednesday the 25th day of April did assault me, by kicking and striking me with the clenched hand and otherwise maltreat me."[174] Obviously the men involved with handball

were passionate about the game and did not appreciate the interference of the morally upright.

For those who preferred other than agricultural or sport activities, there were also musical events. According to historian Kristina Guiguet, the domestic "Soiree Musicale", as found in nineteenth-century Ontario, was usually "a posh, private party at which a formal concert, complete with printed programs, was performed. Amateurs from the hosts' circle performed side by side with professional musicians in a mixture of musical genres including opera, parlor ballad, glee and instrumental salon music."[175] The Thompsons, as the town's leading family, were involved in soirees on a number of occasions, some of these serving to raise funds for good causes as well as providing entertainment. For example, Thompson II paid three dollars for a soiree to aid in the building of a manse for the Oneida Presbyterian church in 1866.[176] According to Guiguet, the Soiree Musicale demonstrated the ways in which class and gender roles were "locked into an eternally 'natural' hierarchy of merit."[177]

In addition to the socially-exclusive soiree, a number of concerts were held for a more open audience, generally followed by dancing. On 4 March 1866, a notice was posted for a "Concert Reunion and Dance". This was to be "A grand amateur concert and reunion", with "The proceeds to be applied in aid of purchasing instruments for the York Brass Band, to be called the York Independent Brass Band." Admission was also gender-differentiated: "Ladies" paid 10 cents, while the presumably wealthier "Gents" were charged 15 cents. The posters also advised that "seats will be removed for dancing under the

management of an efficient committee."[178] Other methods were used to generate funds, such as voluntary subscriptions. For instance, John Hannah, of York, offered one dollar toward the purchase of musical instruments.[179] The organizers were successful in this effort as they were able to purchase "one B Flat Brass $14; one baritone $12; one E Flat Cornet, $9; one F Flat Clarionet, $8; one E Tonor, $20". But they also wanted a Bass drum and Double Bass Horn, in order that "With these instruments we shall have a full band, as there are six private parties who have instruments of their own."[180] Shortly thereafter, in July 1866, the York Brass Band was out and about performing, "in its usual brilliant and spirited style".[181] The following year there was a similar event for a different cause: "A grand amateur Concert of vocal and instrumental music will be given in the Town Hall, York, on Monday evening, March 11th, 1867, the proceeds to be applied to the benefit of the choir of St Patrick's Church, Caledonia... Admission – ladies 10 cents, gentlemen 15 cents. At the conclusion of the Concert there will be dancing in the Drill Shed."[182]

These events were probably aimed at least in part at permitting carefully regulated public opportunities for young single residents to meet, filling the need for neutral spaces where adolescents and young adults could pass time together, perhaps leading to respectable courtship and marriage. Balls, house parties, skating, sleighing, picnics, concerts, plays and summer excursions all provided courtship opportunities under the watchful eyes of family and neighbours.[183] Such events were regularly organized. In 1880, Macduff wrote to Thompson that "The boys and myself are going to a show at the village school this evening."[184]

In a letter from Wills Murdoch in Indiana to David Thompson in Ottawa, in January 1881, Wills wrote, "We have had a good time for slaying [sleighing], the village is pretty lively this last week."[185] Thompson himself often wrote about sleighing in his 1873 diary.[186] Wills' letter to Thompson in 1881 indicated that "Saturday night Mrs. (Elizabeth) Robins was speaking to the young folks to see if they would try and get up an Entertainment in the School house for to get some provisions for the winter they told me to ask you if you have any objection to it."[187] It is interesting how often people sought Thompson's help or permission for such things. In 1882, Macduff wrote to Thompson that he wanted to get Mrs. Thompson's assistance to stage "a game of euchre".[188] In the end, despite the varied activities available to residents, there were those who found the Indiana social scene somewhat lacking. As Alexander Kinnear, Thompson's bookkeeper from 1860 to 1881 wrote to Thompson, after moving from Indiana that year, "I often wonder how you are getting along in that Hermits town of yours. It never was a very desirable spot to pass ones days in but surely it must be fearfully dull now."[189] By this time, the town was on its downward slide, which probably explains why the lively leisure activities of its earlier years were also declining.

ix. The Vices: Alcohol and Tobacco Consumption

Despite the importance of music and camaraderie, perhaps the most important feature of most social events was the consumption of alcohol. As various scholars have noted, well into the nineteenth century, local pubs, cafes and lodging houses serving "spirits" were characterized by their mix of classes,

genders and ages.[190] As the century progressed, however, changing middle-class constructions of femininity, as Craig Heron has noted, made public drinking a predominantly male activity, judging those women who drank publicly as immoral and inadequately concerned about family domesticity.[191] But, according to Donald Akenson, alcohol consumption, especially in company, was "necessary for survival", as most people in rural environments were lonely and isolated. He notes that, as late as the 1860s, Ontario farmers were trading a portion of their grain for whiskey. Further, as he contends, "Annual per capita consumption of spirits in Canada, calculated in 1869, was well over a gallon a year for every man, woman and child, and this included only legally manufactured spirits: home-distilled liquors, beers, wines and ciders were not included."[192] Despite the availability of such figures, exactly how much or how often people drank remains unknown, particularly since there were ethnic stereotypes about, and differing consumption patterns among, diverse groups in almost every town. It was generally accepted, for example, that those with European backgrounds and Catholic upbringing were more likely to drink than those from Anglo-Canadian, African Canadian, Asian and evangelical Protestant households. Aboriginals were officially denied access to alcohol but that did not stop some of them from drinking.[193]

In the 1850s and 1860s, the Kirkland Distillery and the Mussen Distillery operated in Indiana. In a strange twist of fate, both distilleries burned to the ground in 1857 in a fire that engulfed them as well as part of the grist mill. Both distilleries were rebuilt and back in operation by 1860.[194] Obviously there was call

for whiskey in and around Indiana. Proof of that lies not only with their rebuilding but also in the fact that, in 1868, eleven tavern licenses were issued in the Township of Seneca, four of which went to taverns in and around Indiana. In addition, there were three licenses issued in the village of Cayuga.[195] One of the licenses issued in Indiana was for an establishment called "The Swallow," owned by Miles Finlen.[196] Finlen fit the popular image of the Irish tavern keeper. He was the proverbial Jack-of-all-trades, in that he worked at whatever jobs came his way, from labourer, to farmer, innkeeper, teamster and even school trustee.[197] Moreover, his tavern was known to be a rowdy place where "Donnybrook Fair" raged on many weekends.[198]

The consumption of alcohol, as Heron concludes, was a "highly social act, undertaken in company with other people who shared experience and social status – a particular class, occupation, religion, gender, or age group. Drinking together became an important part of creating and defining groups and classes."[199] Alcohol consumption, however, had its darker ramifications. Several individuals in the employ of Thompson II sought loans from him when they were intoxicated. Edward Monaghan did just that in 1861, receiving 25 cents from Thompson II "when drunk".[200] A postcard to Thompson II in the Ruthven Archives from "Mr. L" wryly suggests the prevalence of drinking; the writer indicates "I hope your church people arrive home safe and sober"[201] As much as Thompson II advocated abstinence, Indiana residents did not readily follow suit.

Tobacco consumption was also freighted with a number of mores and assumptions about who could partake and who should not. Long-stemmed clay

tobacco pipes are frequently excavated on sites of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, in part because they were fragile and were considered disposable. Smoking pipes of white clay are common artifacts on most historical sites across Ontario. Pipe pieces provide evidence for an important leisure activity; they offer indications of their manufacturers, including makers' marks, and also of trade in imported pipes and the rise of local pipe-making industries. Moreover, what was smoked, and the location of smoking, were indicators of social class.[202] For the working class, clay pipes were favoured because they could be broken to any desired length. Shorter pipes, called 'cutties' were preferable because they could be gripped by the teeth and did not require a free hand, thereby allowing smoking while on the job.[203] Although smoking by women was heavily frowned upon,

Figure 3H: 19th century image of woman smoking[204]

some indulged in the privacy of their own homes. There are numerous pictures and associated ideas about women smoking in the nineteenth century. In most

cases, however, women who smoked were not considered "respectable". Thus it was working or lower class women, or "ladies of questionable character", who were most commonly pictured smoking.[205]

It is important to attempt to envision how people might have viewed drinking and smoking as social activities in the nineteenth century in order to understand the sorts of activities that took place in public spaces. The inn was often a community's only public building: "Every imaginable activity took place there – political meetings, sales of Crown lands, distribution of lots, church services, Sunday school, court sessions, township-council sessions and all public entertainment."[206] As such it is likely that drinking and smoking were part of the social elements inherent in these public buildings and well as in the safety from public scrutiny afforded by private homes.

x. Regulating Indiana: Policing and Law Enforcement

As might be expected of a busy industrializing town, peopled by a fair number of transient and "rough" individuals, policing and law enforcement were fundamental elements of the town's institutional structure. While both Thompson men were Magistrates, which allowed them the authority of the law, such authority could do little in preventing, controlling or confronting violent criminal acts. Law enforcement agents were necessary to deal with the everyday occurrence, petty or otherwise, of criminality. While the canals were being built and there were many transient workers in town, Thompson I hired a Constable, Peter Burger, who served Indiana between 1834 and 1836.[207] He also hired

security guards James Perkins (1833-1838)[208] and Henry Sloan 1837-1838.[209] Between 1842 and 1844 Thompson I hired security guard Alexander Lindsay.[210] Between 1852 and 1855, Thompson's executors hired the William Kerrott Security Company to keep the civic peace.[211] They also hired Edgar Walt as security in 1859.[212] In the 1860s, Thompson II hired Samuel Evans (1861-1862), Henry Bird (1862-1867) and William Wilson (1863-1864) to provide a small security force.[213]

The first Sheriff of Haldimand County was established in 1850 when Richard Martin was given the position. He held the position until his death in 1878.[214] Part of his job involved seizing land from individuals for non-payment of taxes, but his required duties did not entail policing.[215] Martin was followed by Robert H. Davis, who kept the position from 1878 to 1907.[216] In spite of the need for local protection, there was not a local police force until the volunteer force formed in Indiana in 1866. The company of volunteers was known as the Home Guard of Indiana and Neighborhood.[217]

A number of violent crimes upset the relative peace of the community during the years considered here. One such incident, mentioned earlier, involved the death of 47 year old Thomas McClory, a labourer for Thompson between 1851 and 1862. He worked the harvest, was a wood cutter and a blacksmith. McClory was a single man but he had family in Indiana. He also lived for many years in one of Thompson's shanty towns.[218] Perhaps because shanties were considered rough places and McClory was vulnerable, his death was judged a

homicide and there was an inquest held on 8 May 1862. The case was never solved.[219]

Because most of the information available about law-breaking in Indiana comes from criminal files, it reveals much more about those individuals who were charged and convicted than it does about either actual incidence of crime, since only those who were "caught" are recorded, or about the victims. There were various instances of assault, larceny, perjury, forgery, jail-breaking, and rape.[220] In most cases, the nature of the crimes, and of nineteenth-century punitive justice, meant that the convicts faced stiff penalties. There was, however, one way of receiving leniency and that was if someone was available who could vouch for a person's good character.[221] There is not a single known case where anyone was excused for that reason in Indiana.

Apart from the actual policing of Indiana, there were other reasons that individuals had to act on behalf of the law. Alexander Macduff was authorized as Thompsons' bailiff to seize the goods and chattels of George Sexsmith, as well as those of Moore Hill and S. McCulloch, millers in Cayuga, as payment of their debt to Thompson for rent owing.[222] Regarding the financial difficulties of Hill and McCulloch, there was a notice of a Bailiff's sale to be held on 6 November 1876, declaring that "goods and chattels will be auctioned: 1 run of gristing stone, 1 for chop, 1 swick."[223] It appears that Thompson felt little sympathy for Hill, despite the fact that he had been employed as one of his own head millers for a number of years. Hill appealed to Thompson for "more time" to repay his debts, in two

letters dated 11 and 22 November 1876, after the Bailiff's sale, but Thompson appears not to have heeded the request.[224]

This chapter has detailed some of the "everyday" elements of life in Indiana, including landscape, leisure, education, and religion. In so doing, some of the residents have been identified and their particular activities have been highlighted. The objective of this, and the following two chapters, is to attempt an understanding of the private as well as the community aspects of the history of a rural-industrial town, from its rise through its decline and eventual disappearance. The town, after all, could not be any more or any less than the people who lived and worked within its boundaries. Within those boundaries, there is little doubt that the built environment helped to shape and influence the activities, experiences and religious involvement of Indiana residents but the choices they made reflect so much more than prescribed social mores and expectations. They demonstrated they made conscious choices that were not only for the betterment of the community but also for the furtherance of their individual family economies. The next chapter will consider some of the ways that the residents had active involvement in their occupations and tenancy options.

Endnotes

[1] Marguerite Van Die has argued that Victorian Canada was not as idyllic or as harmonious as many have wanted to believe. Instead she described the immense change and challenges that most individuals had to face during the 19th century and how those challenges impacted religious practice. See: Marguerite Van Die *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colby's of Carrollcroft*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

[2] The concepts of family time, individual time and industrial time are taken from Tamara Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The relationship between the family and work in a New England industrial community*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[3] Paul A. Shackel, "Introduction", *Myth, Memory and the Making of the American Landscape*, (ed.) Paul A Shackel, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 4.

[4] Matthew M Palus and Paul A Shackel *They Worked Regular: Craft, Labor and Family in the Industrial Community of Virginius Island*, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 59.

[5] Initially I was convinced that Indiana began as a 'typical' company town; as research progressed, my views changed. Most company towns were built and operated by a single business enterprise. Sometimes small towns became company towns if a single enterprise prevailed. To that degree, Indiana could be classified a company town, but it lacked most of the other defining characteristics. In company towns, for example, the central business provided company-owned housing for their employees. Moral regulation by the company over the employees was also a feature of the company town setting. The consumption of alcoholic beverages was prohibited in the boardinghouses and the employees were expected to adhere to particular sets of rules, including attending church every Sunday. Those who did not comply often had their pay docked. As far as can be determined, while the Thompsons supplied housing for *some* employees, the majority of the labourers had to find their own accommodations. Moreover, nothing has come to light regarding the moral regulation of Thompson employees. Considering that there were 117 lots in Indiana, and the estimate is that there were perhaps 50-60 frame dwellings on them over the entire history of the town, it is extremely unlikely that Indiana can be considered a company town per se because that number of houses could not have supplied housing for the 714 individuals identified in the 1830s, never mind 3079 identified over seventy years. As noted in Chapter 2, the population was likely much higher than that in reality. Consequently, I am now convinced that Indiana did not really begin as a company town that supplied housing for its employees but rather a company that owned the land that their employees squatted upon or paid rent to be on. For a fuller description of Company Towns see: Stephen A Mrozowski, *The Archaeology of Class in Urban America*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chapter 4; John S. Garner *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[6] William Carrol of Caledonia who was a provincial surveyor produced the sketch in 1846 and it was subsequently registered in 1862, See artifact room, metal trunk, 10, #1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[7] There have been various images produced of Ruthven including one in 1863 that was an engraving of the mansion, *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64*, pp 217-218; There are also photographs from the turn of the century that show mature trees and stately manicured lawns, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[8] *Plan of the Village of Indiana in the Township of Seneca, County of Haldimand*, certified on March 4 1869 and registered Jan 18, 1870. Map found: Registry office, Cayuga.

[9] Thompson paid William Jones on February 16, 1863 to have 2 maps and 2 engravings made, one of which details "Thompson's Grist, Saw and Carding Mills, Indiana" and the other was Thompson's residence. See: *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64*, pp 217-218, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[10] *General Ledger 1834-1849*, pp 201, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[11] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 39, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[12] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[13] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, April 1, 1862, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[14] Indenture, attic pigeonhole 21, #36 - 3 pages; Indenture, attic pigeonhole 21, #35, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[15] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[16] Elizabeth Bloomfield and Linda Foster, *Localities of Landowners Assessment Roll Evidence 1861-1956*, (Guelph: Caribou Imprints, 1995), 64.

[17] *Indiana Day Book A 1858-1864*, pp. 31, 35 and 42, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[18] *Indiana Day Book A 1858-1864*, pp. 43, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[19] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pp#; *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 218, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[20] Lorne F Hammond, "Anatomy of a Lumber Shanty: A Social History of Labour and Production on the Lievre River, 1876-1890", *Canadian Papers in Rural History, Vol. IX*, (ed.) Donald H Akenson, (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1994), 292.

[21] Hammond, 1994, 298.

[22] Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840's", *Canadian Working-Class History: Selected Readings, 3rd Edition*, (eds.) Laurel Sefton MacDowell and Ian Radforth, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006), 28-51.

[23] Bleasdale, 2006, 33.

[24] There was an inquest into his death that ruled his passing as a homicide but no one was ever brought to justice regarding this issue. *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[25] Bleasdale, 2006, 30.

[26] Bleasdale, 2006, 30.

[27] *Gazetteer and Directory of Haldimand County*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 75.

[28] Russell, 1990, 120.

[29] Catharine Anne Wilson, "Introduction", *Tenants in Time*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 18.

[30] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 12.

[31] *Indiana Day Book A 1858-1864*, James McCue pp. 52, Thomas Mclory pp. 60, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[32] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[33] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pp#, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[34] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 145, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[35] *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[36] *Indiana petty ledger 1862-1870*, pp 145, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[37] Bruce Emerson Hill, *The Grand River Navigation Company*, (Brantford: Brant Historical Society Publications 1994), 57.

[38] There were numerous instances when this happened but specific examples include: Daniel Heenan who was a merchant in Indiana from 1861 to 1868. He left Indiana because he couldn't make his payments to Thompson for land he had purchased in 1866, see *Grand River Sachem,* Mar 14, 1866, Advertisement; Thomas Slaven was another example as he also purchased land and then had to surrender it back to Thompson, *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 420, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[39] The Indiana Bridge was first built and washed out in 1851-1852 and then the second bridge built in 1852 was washed out in 1866. *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*, pp 150; "Freshet in the Grand River: Indiana Bridge Destroyed", *Grand River Sachem*, March 4, 1866; James Lees purchased the Carding Mill and a house from Thompson in 1871 but by 1878 he forfeited the property back to Thompson because part of it was washed away in the spring flood that year. *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881*, pp 450; D Thompson and W Donaldson looked for tenders in August 1875 to rebuild the former Mount Healy Dam that was "carried away" in April, attic pigeonhole 10AB, #58 inner right; the break in the Dean's Hydraulic Works in April of 1881 caused the town of Deans to permanently lose its water power. See: attic pigeonhole 57, #17 front; in 1883 there was a break in the new dam Thompson had built and he had a consult with an engineer about what to do to fix it. See: letter from William Haskins, Hamilton Water Works to David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 17A-A2, #30 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[40] Eva M. MacDonald, "The Root of the Scatter: Nineteenth Century Artifact and Settlement Patterns in Rural Ontario", *Ontario Archaeology*, No. 64, (1997), 60-61.

[41] TV room, 2 of 5, #53, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[42] "Indiana Side Walk Papers: Resolutions", TV Room, 2 of 5, File #53, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[43] Hand written document on the other side to the "Indiana Side walk Resolutions", TV room, Doc #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[44] Contract: Thomas Shipway wrote, "will make the sidewalk at the rate of $1.15 per Rod", attic pigeonhole 10AB, #66; Receipt from the Indiana Sidewalk Committee to Thomas Shipway, attic pigeonhole 10AB, #64 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[45] Receipt from the Indiana Sidewalk Committee to Thomas Shipway, "in full for building sidewalk, received from David Thompson Treasurer of committee", attic pigeonhole 10AB, #62 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[46] Christopher Andreae, Lines of Country: An Atlas of Railway and Waterway History in Canada, (Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1997), 3.

[47] McCalla, 1993, 132.

[48] Akenson, 1999, 211.

[49] "Township of Seneca, Minutes of the Municipal Council of the Township of Seneca, May 12, 1866", *Grand River Sachem,* May 12, 1866.

[50] Cheryl MacDonald, *Haldimand History, Crime and Punishment: 1850*-1950 (Nanticoke: Heronwood Enterprises, 2004), 41.

[51] "The River Road" – to the Editor of the Grand River Sachem, *Grand River Sachem*, Feb 22, 1867.

[52] "The River Road" – a second commentary, *Grand River Sachem*, Feb 22, 1867.

[53] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, March 5, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #47 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[54] Andreae, 1997, 3.

[55] Akenson, 1999, 238.

[56] For specifics on religion in Indiana, see Chapter 2.

[57] Dan Walker and Sylvia Weaver, *Chronology of the Catholic Church in Indiana*, 2007; "Thompson Church, Indiana, This new Place of Worship will be opened for the Divine Service on Sabbath, the 6th of APRIL next at 12 O'clock Noon by the Rev Dr Ferrier, assisted by the Rev A Drummond, Brantford", From a notice dated March 25, 1851, David Thompson's 1863 briefcase 2, #8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[58] Walker and Weaver, 2007.

[59] *Indiana Land Registry Records*, Registry Office, Cayuga, pp 8-9.

[60] *Indiana Land Registry Records*, Registry Office, Cayuga, pp 25.

[61] Walker and Weaver, 2007.

[62] Personal communication with Dan Walker, October 2008.

[63] As determined by dates on the head stones at St Rose of Lima cemetery, Indiana.

[64] The last burial in the cemetery was in 1860. Mass was last said in Indiana in 1874. The last mention of Indiana in the church records at St. Stephens in Cayuga, was in 1881. The last priest who served Indiana was Father Laussie. His posting was from 1894 to 1895. After 1895, the Catholic Church lost interest in Indiana entirely and it is thought that one of the reasons for that

was the mass exodus of Catholic workers from the area. See: "Chronology of the Catholic Church in Indiana", Sylvia Weaver and Dan Walker, unpublished document, 2007.

[65] Andrew Ruthven Thompson, "The Story of Indiana when it was a Village with 600 or more Population and one of the important Business Centres along the Grand River", *The Haldimand Advocate*, Thursday August 3, 1950.

[66] Dr. John Triggs conducted a short archaeological investigation, looking for the Catholic Church remains, in the fall of 2007. He was successful and his report of the church is pending. The report should provide details of the construction materials and some of the artifacts recovered. I eagerly await further information on the church.

[67] Personal Communication with Marilynn Havelka, Chief Administrative Officer, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga Ontario.

[68] In many ways this is one of the basic thrusts of Shackel's books and essays. He has argued in many places that the subaltern groups had to subscribe to the dominant views unless they were willing to ignore them or fight them. In presenting his ideas in this way, he has called into question the purpose of museum exhibits, memorials and historic sites are they meant to be about the creation of memory or are they meant to be arenas for debating national identity and/or ideology? Either way, they are places where meaning and memory are created, or so Shackel has argued. See: Paul A., Shackel, *Archaeology and Created Memory: Public History in a National Park*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2000).

[69] It must be noted that those who manage Ruthven Park Historic Site, including the Land Trust, as well as the local diocese of the Catholic Church, were in full support of this rededication project.

[70] Paul A. Shackel, "Introduction", *Myth, Memory and the Making of the American Landscape*, ed. Paul A Shackel, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 3.

[71] Rededication of St Rose of Lima Cemetery at Indiana, in a ceremony at Ruthven National Historic Park, June 16, 2007.

[72] The concept of disinterring bodies and moving headstones was not uncommon in Indiana. Thompson himself paid various people to move headstones. See for example: *Indiana Petty Ledger 1862-1870*, pp 128,Thompson paid Alexander Barry to haul headstones, 1866; Andrew Ruthven Thompson reported in 1950, when he wrote an article about Indiana, "in the last days of migration dead bodies were disinterred from the old graveyard and taken afar to have a new burial". Found: "The Story of Indiana when it was a Village with 600 or more Population and one of the important Business Centres along the Grand River", *The Haldimand Advocate*, Thursday August 3, 1950.

[73] See: Mary Nelles' notes, "The Young Burying Ground, Young Tract", Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[74] See: Mary Nelles' notes, "The African Methodist Episcopal Church, Seneca Township", Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[75] According to Mary Nelles, George Robinson remembers his uncle William Shipway saying that there was a graveyard southeast of the Indiana school yard. See: Mary Nelles' notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga. As noted in the information collected by Sylvia Weaver on the "Indiana Mission", she wrote, "oral history states old cemetery was by the school house".

[76] There is another burying ground that Hugh Martin wrote to Thompson II about in 1884. He was asking for the deed for more property for burying purposes. He said that current cemetery was on Lot 24, 2nd Concession in Oneida and that they had 4 1/8 acres. Thompson wrote back and told him that 8 ½ acres were available at $13.55/acre. Since Oneida is across the river from Indiana/Deans, it is possible that some of the residents were buried there. See: Attic Pigeonhole 42, #2, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[77] *The Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record*, Nov 1847, pg 6, from: The United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria College, Toronto, Ontario.

[78] From David Thompson 1st, "Last Will and Testament", Oct 25, 1850, RP-DT-2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[79] From a notice about "Thompson Church", Indiana dated March 25, 1851, David Thompson's 1863 briefcase 2, #8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[80] Image located in the Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, July 1851, pp 99, From: United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, Toronto, Ontario (BX9084.A1 M56 PS Microfilm 1).

[81] United Presbyterian Church Presbytery of Flamboro: Minutes of March 18, 1851, BX9084.A1 M56 PS Microfilm 1, United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, Toronto.

[82] From a letter from Dr. Ferrier, July 1851, as part of the Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, found: United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

[83] United Presbyterian Church Presbytery of Flamboro: Minutes of March 18, 1851, BX9084.A1 M56 PS Microfilm, United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, Toronto; notation about donation made to him, *Indiana Cash book, 1858-1864*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[84] Andrew Thompson, *Something about our Family*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[85] *Gazetteer and Directory of the Counties of Haldimand and Brant*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 107; *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 156; *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[86] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*, Jan 31, 1877, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[87] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 145 and 156, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[88] See the "List of Contributions and Charities", *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 156, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[89] Sept 6, 1868, attic pigeonhole 59, #2 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[90] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881,* pp 68 & attic pigeonhole 59, #2 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[91] *Indiana Day Book 1871-1877*, pp 57, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[92] *Isolated Risk and farmers' Fire Insurance Company of Canada*, Head Office, Toronto, 17th December, 1873 – insurance on Presbyterian Church, Indiana. Policy found: attic pigeonhole 32A, #17 top and bottom, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; also

Citizens Insurance Company of Canada, Head Office, Montreal, December 11, 1882. Insurance for Church in Deans, policy found attic pigeonhole 32, #23C, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[93] Receipt from *London Mutual Fire Insurance Company*, October 12, 1885, attic pigeonhole 32, #23A front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[94] There were numerous examples of this but see: *Bills Receivable and Payable Journal, 1856-68*, Nov 23, 1867, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[95] Thompson, *Something about our Family*.

[96] All entries taken from letters by Bold Cudmore Hill, *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from London England*, Edinborough Square Museum, Caledonia; also noted St. John's Anglican Church records, York.

[97] *The Haldimand Advocate*, Friday July 17, 1868, Vol. I, No. 22, pp 2

[98] Francoise Noel *Family Life and Sociability in Upper and Lower Canada, 1780-1870*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 191.

[99] Russell, 1990, 6.

[100] For example James Callinan, the first teacher hired by Thompson for SSNo8, was involved in building the sidewalk in the 1860's and he purchased lots in Indiana. He appears to have been well thought of in town. Hugh Henry Sharp was a machinist and mechanic in Indiana from 1846 until 1902 when he died. He owned property in Indiana and he worked regularly for both Thompsons. Even a couple of merchants became JP's and were also involved in Indiana society including Thomas Slaven.

[101] Russell, 1990, pp. 13; See the section on Farming, Chapter 4, for more information.

[102] Letter from Alexander Macduff in Deans to David Thompson in Ottawa, March 6, 1879, attic pigeonhole 56, #23 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[103] Letter from Alexander Macduff in Deans to David Thompson in Ottawa, March 3, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #45, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[104] There are a number of times when this occurred but see for example: Letter from Alexander Macduff in Deans to David Thompson in Ottawa, April 15, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #68, front and back; attic pigeonhole 56, #80 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[105] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, February 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #38 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[106] Letter from Alexander Macduff in Deans to David Thompson in Ottawa, February 13, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #33 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[107] Letter from Alexander Macduff in Deans to David Thompson in Ottawa, March 3, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #69, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[108] Letter from Alexander Macduff in Deans to David Thompson in Ottawa, March 3, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #75 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[109] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, February 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #38 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[110] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, March 1, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #44A pages 1 to 4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[111] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, April 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, # 80 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[112] Thompson *Something about our Family.*

[113] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 145, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[114] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp. 60, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[115] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 149, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[116] 1881 Census for Haldimand County.

[117] From an article on the internet titled "Indian Ghost Town", Updated August 16, 2006, www.ghostownpix.com/ontario/towns/indiana.html

[118] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 117, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[119] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[120] 1881 Census for Haldimand County.

[121] David Thompson I, Last Will and Testament, Feb 18, 1851, Ontario Archives, microfilm, Court of Probate, RG 22-155, MS638 (68), Estate Files 1793-1859.

[122] *Indiana - Blotter #1, Jun 1858-Mar 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[123] For more information on Indiana residents see the *Biographies* in *Appendix A.*

[124] Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 15.

[125] Cynthia Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 150.

[126] Alice L Prentice and Susan E Houston, "Introduction", *Family, School & Society in nineteenth century Canada*, (eds.) Alice Prentice and Susan Houston, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 2; Comacchio, 1999, 150.

[127] For a solid retelling of Upper Canadian educational history, see: Prentice, 2004.

[128] Peter A Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada 1815-1840*, Canadian Studies, Volume 6, (Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 51-52.

[129] Bettina Bradbury, "Women's Workplaces: The Impact of Technological Change in Working-Class Women in the Home and in the Workplace in Nineteenth Century Montreal", *Women, Work and Place*, (ed.) Audrey Kobayashi, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 30.

[130] Peter A Baskerville, *Sites of Power: A Concise History of Ontario*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2005), 114.

[131] GT Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield with Brian Van Nostrand *Ontario Central Places in 1871: A Gazetteer Compiled from Contemporary Sources*, Research Report 13, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1990), 12.

[132] Prentice, 2004, 37.

[133] Prentice, 2004, 16-17.

[134] Prentice and Houston, 1975, 1.

[135] Men who were "Secretary-Treasurer" of the organization over the years were: David Thompson, James Kirkland, John Lynch, Miles Finlen, AM Kinnear, Wm Young, and Wills Murdoch. School Section Number 8, Indiana – *Minute Book* of the school, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga; From: 1869, School Section Number 8, Indiana – *Minute Book* of the school, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[136] Prentice, 2004, 81.

[137] Russell, 1990, 34-35.

[138] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp 50-51; Contract found attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #4, 2 pgs, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. Isabella continued to teach in Indiana until 1881.

[139] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 1.

[140] *Grand River Sachem,* Sept 12, 1866, "Grammar School Regulations: The council for Public Instruction for Upper Canada has issued a series of regulations for the government of Grammar Schools".

[141] Russell, 1990, 34-35.

[142] Gidney and Millar, 1990.

[143] The criteria for certification read as follows: "no Certificate shall be given to any person who has not been a student in the Normal School". "Provincial Certificates Granted To Male Students, and Valid 31st Dec., 1867". The person had to "give evidence of having been a successful Teacher" and they had to "stand an examination in the following subjects: English History and Literature (Collier); Canadian History and Geography (Hodgins); Outlines of Ancient and Modern History and Geography; Latin Grammar, (Harkness), and Books IV., V. and VI. of Cæsar's Commentaries; Outlines of Geology, (Lyell and Chapman's), and Astronomy (Mosely's); Science of Teaching, School Organization, Management; Easy lessons on Reasoning; Algebra-General Theory of Equations, Imaginary Quantities (Sangster's and Todhunter's); Euclid-Books XI. And XII); Trigonometry as far as Solution of Plane Triangles (Colenso); Inorganic Chemistry, (Sangster's Inorganic, Brand and Taylor's for Organic); and The Principles of Book-keeping, Music and Drawing. See: Provincial Certificates Granted to Teachers in 1867, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Papers *From Ontario Sessional Papers 32 Victoria 1868 (2)*, Provincial Certificates Granted by the Chief Superintendent of Education. See also Prentice, 2004, 18.

[144] Prentice, 2004, 19.

[145] Prentice, 2004, 33.

[146] Prentice, 2004, 81.

[147] See the list of teachers in Indiana in *Appendix F* "List of Teachers Hired in Indiana"

[148] *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BAAs found in Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[149] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[150] 1861 Census for Haldimand County.

[151] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga, pp 85.

[152] *School Section Number 8, Indiana – Minute Book of the school*, found in Mary Nelles' notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[153] *Victoria Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Canada*, Head Office, Hamilton, Ontario, 26th July 1876, insurance on the School House, Indiana, attic pigeonhole 32, #7 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[154] SSNo8 Indiana – *Minute Book of the school*; It has been argued that the introduction of female teachers into the workforce was partly due to the relative unavailability of immigrant male teachers, along with the movement of women into the paid workforce. See: Eric W Sager, "Women Teachers in Canada, 1881-1901: Revisiting the Feminization of an Occupation", *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 88, No. 2, (June 2007), 220.

[155] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, February 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #38 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[156] *Indiana Petty Ledger B, 1851-1859*, pp 123, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Thompson *Something About our Family*.

[157] There are many examples of Thompson paying a governess to teach his children. See for example: *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 104, 133, 160, 321, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[158] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 20.

[159] *Indiana Day book, 1871-1877*, pp 202 and *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 97, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[160] As noted in the 1891 Census for Haldimand County; also noted in the *Military Service of Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Thorburn Thompson*, WWI Military Records, DEF Research, PO Box 29123 3500 Fallowfield Road, Nepean, Ontario K2J 4A9, Canada.

[161] The information obtained for Chapter 2 about students who attended school clearly shows that the number increased over each decade between the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s. However, what can not go unnoticed is that only 50% of those who could have attended school were recorded as having done so in the 1870s. Thus, it is unlikely that only 12 individuals were illiterate when the census was taken in 1871.

[162] Tosh, 1999, 23.

[163] Thompson, *The Haldimand Advocate*, 1950.

[164] Barbara Martindale, "The Indiana saga unfolds", column "For what it's worth"; also: in *The Sachem*, date unknown.

[165] *Cayuga Gazetteer*, 1867, 94.

[166] Mary Nelles' notes about John Farrell, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[167] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*, pp. 1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[168] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 156, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; $20 was the average wage earned by a male for a month's work in Indiana and the equivalent of nearly 4½ months work for the average female worker in the 1860s, see *Appendix C: Average wages in Indiana per day, for each decade.*

[169] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-1864*, pp 202 and 206, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. On the Western Fair, see Inge V. Sanmiya, *A Celebration of Excellence: The History of the Western Fair Association* (London, Ontario The Western Fair Association, 2000).

[170] *Grand River Sachem*, 10 October 1866.

[171] Mary Nelles' notes about John Farrell, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[172] "To the editor of the Sachem, Indiana", *Grand River Sachem*, May 9, 1864.

[173] Complaint made to David Thompson, JP, April 26, 1866, Empire Job Press, Sachem Office, Caledonia, Artifact Room, Col ATT metal trunk, 8, #2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[174] Complaint made to David Thompson, JP April 29, 1866, Empire Job Press, Sachem Office, Caledonia, Artifact Room, Col ATT metal trunk, 8, #4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[175] Kristina Marie Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soiree Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, Mercury Series, Cultural Studies Paper 77, (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004), xiv.

[176] List of Contributions and Charities, *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 144, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. Again, in 1873, Thompson paid Maxwell McClung for soiree tickets for an unnamed event; see Notes from a Pocket Diary, 1873 (DT's handwriting), attic pigeonhole 49, Diary 1873, pp 138-162, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[177] Guiguet, 2004, 117.

[178] "Concert Reunion and Dance", *Grand River Sachem,* Mar 4, 1866.

[179] "Subscription List", *Grand River Sachem*, Mar 14 1866.

[180] "Subscription List", *Grand River Sachem,* Mar 14, 1866.

[181] "Celebration at York", *Grand River Sachem*, July 18, 1866.

[182] "Concert at York", *Grand River Sachem,* Feb 22, 1867.

[183] Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth Century English Canada*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 64-65.

[184] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans February 26, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #35 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[185] Letter from Wills Murdoch seeking employment but also describing life in the "village", Jan 14, 1881, Deans, attic pigeonhole 27B, #21 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[186] *The Canadian Pocket Diary for 1873* was a diary that Thompson kept a few personal notes about things that were happening in Indiana. For example on Jan 1, 3, 4, and 14, interspersed with various issues about business, Thompson mentioned sleighing. See: attic pigeonhole 49, Diary, 1873, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[187] Letter from Wills Murdoch, Oct 1st, 1881, Deans, attic pigeonhole 27A, #9 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[188] Letter from Alexander Macduff, Winnipeg, to David Thompson, Ottawa, February 1, 1882, attic pigeonhole 25AA, #11, pages 1 to 6, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[189] From a letter dated December 18, 1882 from AM Kinnear to Thompson in Deans, Attic Pigeonhole 19B, #29 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[190] John R Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 33. See also: Julia Roberts *In mixed company: taverns and public life in Upper Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Jane Errington *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[191] Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 381.

[192] Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: a Study in Rural History*, 2nd Edition, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 218.

[193] Heron, 2003, 382.

[194] Hill, 1994, 57; *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[195] Ontario Sessional Papers of 32 Victoria 1868-69 (31) there is a report on the "Return of the Number of Tavern Licenses issued in each County, City, Town, or Incorporated Village, in detail. Also, the name of the party to whom issued, and the name of the Issuer for each County, with the amount received from such Licenses to date." The report is dated January 6, 1869.

[196] Thompson, *The Haldimand Advocate*, 1950.

[197] For a fuller listing of the jobs and activities that Miles Finlen undertook, see: *Appendix A, Biographies of Indiana Residents.*

[198] Thompson, *Haldimand Advocate*, 1950.

[199] Heron, 2003, 6.

[200] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pp #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[201] See: Postcard, attic pigeonhole 35A, #5 back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[202] In the West Field there were smoking pipes found on every lot. In total there were 221 pieces of smoking pipes unearthed. Analysis of these pipes could offer information for dating the site and trade networks. Their presence does indicate that Indiana residents were smoking.

[203] Stephen Mrozowski, Grace H Ziesling and Mary Beaudry, *Living on the Boott, Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 67-68.

[204] Mrozowski et al, 1996, 69.

[205] For a few examples of this see: Amanda Amos and Margaretha Haglund, "From social taboo to "torch of freedom": the marketing of cigarettes to women", Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, *Tob Control*, (2000 Spring) 9:3-8; Kerry Segrave, *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950*, (McFarland and Company, 2005).

[206] There are numerous examples of this in and around Indiana. For example, the Indiana Bridge Company held meetings in various establishments, such as John Fitzsimons Hotel on May 10, 1852, and again on December 14, 1853, they also met at Miles Finlen's hotel on May 23, 1855; Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers *Tavern in the Town: Early Inns and Taverns of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 3-5; *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[207] *General Ledger 1834-1849* and *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[208] *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[209] *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[210] *Petty Ledger #6, 1842-44,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[211] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[212] Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[213] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, pp 14; *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870; Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* all Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[214] *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Counties Haldimand and Norfolk*, (HR Page and Co, Toronto, 1877).

[215] These lands were often purchased by David Thompson. See for example: attic pigeonhole 57, #9A, front; attic pigeonhole 57, #7B front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[216] Macdonald, 2004, 28.

[217] From a letter from the committee of the Village of Indiana Inhabitants, June 2, 1866, X97B.1033.1b, 9H "Ina", Haldimand County Museum and Archives.

[218] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[219] James McCue was paid $5 by Thompson to attend the inquest into McClory's death on May 8, 1862, *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pg #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[220] For example, Lawrence Welsh was charged with aggravated assault, Criminal Files, RG22-392-0-2039, container 48, Ontario Archives; John Ready was charged with larceny, Criminal Files, RG 22-392-0-2037, container 48, Ontario Archives; John Brown was charged with perjury in 1859, Criminal Files, RG 22-392-0-2033, container 48, Ontario Archives; William Brown was charged with larceny in 1860, Criminal Files, RG22-392-0-2041,container 48, Ontario Archives; William Ramsey was charged with assault in 1859 and then with jail-breaking in 1860, Criminal Files, RG 22-392-0-2048, container 48, Ontario Archives; John Hall was charged with rape and then with violent assault in 1861 and 1863 respectively, Criminal Files, RG 22-392-0-2049, container 48, Ontario Archives; John Laughlin was convicted of forgery in 1859, Criminal Files, RG 22-392-0-2035, container 48, Ontario Archives; Stephen Fenton, a packer and cooper for Thompson II until 1867, reportedly died in a New York State prison in 1868, *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881,* 149, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[221] Russell, 1990, 151-152.

[222] Letter, attic pigeonhole 47, #3, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Letter, attic pigeonhole 63A, #2D, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[223] "Bailiff's Sale", attic pigeonhole 63, #2H, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[224] Letters from M Hill and S McCulloch to David Thompson, Deans, attic pigeonhole 63A, #2F and attic pigeonhole 63A, #2I front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

Chapter 4 - Filling in the Numbers: Reanimating Indiana

Much as did Chapter 3, this chapter will continue to fill in the quantitative information about Indiana with some of the more personal, qualitative details about industry, the skilled trades, business, services, and farming in the town between 1830 and 1900. These played a significant role in shaping and sustaining town life, changing in step with the town's economic fortunes, while also supporting certain patterns of class, gender and age relations that were deeply embedded in the wider Upper Canadian society. It will also be argued that transiency and tenancy were choices that many people consciously made as part of their overall family economic strategy. An attempt to "reanimate" the town during three distinct periods—the 1830s, the 1860s, and the 1890s—will close the discussion.

In 1851, the first year for which the census provides data on the province's workforce by occupation, almost 40,000 Upper Canadians reported an occupation that can be classified as a skilled trade. Over half the total was accounted for by just four crafts: carpenters, boot and shoemakers, blacksmiths and tailors. By comparison, the census reported 86,000 farmers and 79,000 labourers. In Indiana, in 1861, 46.5 percent of the male workforce was composed of unskilled or semi-skilled labourers. The vast majority of men who were employed in the town, in every decade, earned wages as labourers of various kinds, although carpenters, blacksmiths, masons and shoemakers were also numerous.[1] Craftspeople in rural environments tended to be relatively unspecialized: as Douglas McCalla points out, "Carpenters were also glaziers

and cabinet makers; shoemakers both made and repaired shoes; blacksmiths shoed horses and made carriages and farm implements; and many men combined farming with a craft."[2]

In rural-industrial Indiana, many of the wage earners can be characterized as rural Canadian craftsmen who also embraced the industrial practices of wage earning. Most men engaged in more than one occupation and many had numerous job classifications. For example, Thomas Baker was a carpenter, joiner, contractor and mill owner. Alexander Barry was typical of many farmers as he was also a teamster and, when necessary, a labourer. Richard Brown was a clerk, postmaster and merchant. George Shipway was a labourer and teamster and also ran a boardinghouse. George's brother Morris was a shoemaker, a farmer, a teamster and a postmaster. It is problematic, consequently, to discuss an individual's occupation as his main livelihood. The question is less about whether they followed numerous paths to obtain a living wage than it is about *which occupation they most often engaged in*. The following discussion about occupations, therefore, will not reflect the true range and breadth of what many individuals actually had to do to make ends meet.

i. The Industrial Landscape

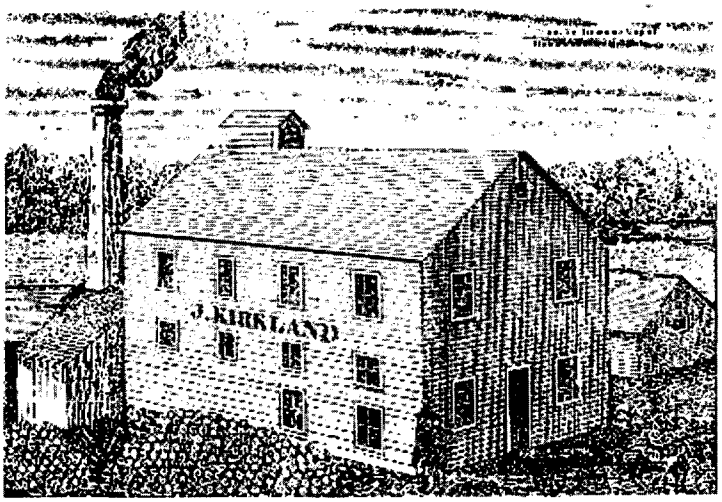
Gerald and Elizabeth Bloomfield have described how, in Upper Canada, a post office was usually combined with a store; it provided the communication and commercial linkages in and between towns, just as the school house and church gave a sense of social cohesion to the local community. Economic activities

centred on the flour and grist mills, saw mills and other types of small workshops.[3] In Indiana there were many such linkages through a variety of businesses that came and went over the years. While none of the industries were classed as factories—or "manufactories" in the early nineteenth-century terminology-- according to the 1871 Census categories, because none had over 26 employees. There were a number of manufacturers, however, who produced a variety of goods, and earned the classification of "mill" (over six employees) or "craft shop" (one to five employees).[4] For example, Thomas and William Mussen owned and operated a pail-making business between 1851 and 1858 and a distillery from 1853 to 1867; both would be classified as craft shops by the 1871 Census definition. Both businesses were located at Lock No 1, Indiana.[5] As noted in chapter 3, the Mussen Distillery, destroyed by fire in 1857, was quickly rebuilt.[6] In the 1861 Census, it was listed as employing two men who earned, on average, $26 per month, and producing 4,000 bottles, worth $6,000. Only 24 percent of all Ontario industrial establishments in 1871 could boast an output worth over $500, with more than one employee, and operations lasting at least six months of the census year.[7]

From 1850 to 1869, James Kirkland also owned a distillery at Lock No 1, Indiana, which would have been classified as a mill by the 1871 census definition.[8] The distillery was destroyed by the same fire that destroyed the Mussen Distillery in 1857 and also rebuilt by 1860.[9] The total loss to the two distilleries, plus damage done to the grist mill, was $12,200.[10] By the time of the 1861 Census, the Kirkland Distillery was listed as worth $8,800; it had water

power, employed 6 men who earned on average $20 per month and 1 woman who earned $13 per month, and produced 8800 bottles per year. The 1863 Tremaine Map of Haldimand County shows the distillery with the name "J Kirkland" emblazoned across the side of the building.[11] In the 1867 *Gazetteer*, it was called the Indiana Distillery, with a capacity of 120 gallons per day.[12]

Figure 4A: Kirkland Distillery, Indiana



The two distilleries were not the only businesses that provided Indiana with whiskey. Before the distilleries were built, between 1834 and 1837, Thompson I paid Robert Gouldice, a distiller from Dunnville, for whiskey.[13]

ii. Mills, Craft Shops, and Skilled Trades

Perhaps the earliest mill established in Indiana, apart from the Thompson grist and saw mill, was the plaster mill. It was situated at the east end of the dam in Indiana at Lock 1 and it was owned by Robert Atkins as early as 1843.[14] It is unclear how long he ran the mill, but it was taken over by John, James and William Cook between 1852 and 1857.[15] Thomas Lester owned a saw mill and

shingle mill from 1851 to 1869; he later purchased the pail business from the Mussens.[16] The 1861 census shows that Lester employed 6 men and 2 women, he had water power for his pine wood mill, and he was worth $3,500. The mill slowed down somewhat in 1871 as Lester employed only 5 people.[17] In the same year, it was estimated that the pail-making business produced 50 dozen pails per week and it was said to "supply the Hamilton market".[18]

In keeping with McCalla's assertion that there were more saw mills than grist mills, almost a 2:1 ratio, Indiana had two saw mills and one grist mill.[19] The first was the Lester Saw Mill and the second, the Thompson saw mill, was rented by John H Rogers from Thompson I, through the latter's executors, from 1852 until 1863.[20] In 1861 Rogers paid $500 for one year's rent.[21] During the years that Rogers was a saw miller, he was also listed as a farmer in the 1861 Census, and in 1867 as a Magistrate.[22]

James Hill owned Indiana Brick and Tile Manufactory between 1866 and 1868. He advertised that his company produced "tiles in every variety and cheap".[23] Thomas Upton took over the brickyard in 1869. He sold two quantities of bricks, 3,650 and 2,568 pieces respectively, to Ruthven that year.[24] He had 4 employees and was the fifth highest money maker in the County in 1871.[25] In addition to the brick yard, Upton rented part of Ruthven Homestead from 1869 to 1874. In spite of the success of his brick making business he was listed as a farmer in the 1871 census.[26] The brickyard then passed to Peter McKay, a mason by trade, in 1872. McKay rented the brickyard from Thompson for 5 years at $15 per year.[27] He also agreed to erect and maintain fences on the property.[28]

When the lease ran out, the business ceased operation. Finally, Michael White ran the cooperage associated with Ruthven Mill for Thompson II. He employed four men and made 2,000 barrels per year in 1861.[29] In 1865 White bought the cooperage and a house from Thompson for $175.[30] By 1870, White could no longer keep the business afloat and forfeited it back to Thompson.[31] Between 1877 and 1878, Thompson continued operating the cooperage, with Frank Sherridan as the cooper in his employ.[32]

In addition to the manufacturers, there were also those engaged in the craft industry in Indiana. Since all repairs, mending and custom work were labeled "industrial" in the 1871 Census, and many Indiana men built or repaired a variety of manufactured goods, it is evident that Indiana had been industrializing from the town's earliest beginnings. [33] According to historian Peter Russell, most independent mechanics in nineteenth-century Ontario could expect to own their own shop.[34] Hugh Henry Sharp was in possession of his shop in Indiana by 1853, and owned it until 1891. He had one or two employees for most of the time the shop was in business, one of whom was his son Robert.[35] William Leitch was a weaver between 1866 and 1871. In 1871 he had one employee in his shop.[36] In 1873 he became a tenant farmer on the Thompson home farm and worked as a labourer as well as a teamster until 1891.[37] Dennis Kenney was a shoemaker in Indiana between 1871 and 1873.[38] In 1871, he had 3 employees in his shop.[39] Morris Shipway was also a shoemaker from 1859 to 1871, as well as doing jobs for Thompson as a teamster.[40] He bought Indiana Lot A, which was across the road from the Royal Oak Tavern, in 1862.[41] He later bought part of Lot B in 1869

and again in 1872.[42] Even though he purchased properties in Indiana, after 1871 he was listed as either a farmer or as a teamster for Thompson.[43]

Within the context of Victorian respectability, there was a general view that hired millers were liable to drunkenness and that there was a difference in performance between the hired miller, the miller who leased a mill, and the miller who owned his mill.[44] As a general rule, the millers hired by the Thompsons were expected to be men of good character. Character referred to a collection of traits that were considered moral virtues: industry, honesty, sobriety, loyalty and strict sexual mores.[45] A miller's knowledge of grain, his tact and honesty in cleaning and extracting the toll, his skill at grinding and bolting to suit each customer, were all scrutinized by the farmer who, once satisfied, returned seasonally to the same mill, providing a constant income to the owner.[46] It was imperative that both Thompson men hire individuals that the locals trusted. In 1874, Thompson II employed a clerk whom many in the town appear to have respected; as a result of this public approval, Thomas Oxley often assisted in evaluating the grains that farmers brought to the mill.[47]

In spite of the acknowledgement given to the necessity of such honesty, integrity and character, there were times when the millers did not measure up. In a letter to Thompson from his clerk Alexander Macduff, in 1880, Macduff wrote about the head miller, William Tait, "Tait so far has kept sober. I have not seen him since you left either going to or coming from the tavern and have not heard of his being there, although he might possibly be there without my knowing it."[48] In another letter he wrote, "Tait is what he always was viz a goose, he knows

perfectly well that his wages was $35 per month. It is not, between ourselves, worth it. If he could keep that tongue of his from wagging and curb his temper some."[49] Tait was clearly a problem for Macduff, who was responsible for paying the bills on behalf of Thompson. Tait's wages had been reduced from $40 to $35 per month in 1877, yet in 1880 Tait was still arguing about what he felt he ought to have been paid.[50]

Milling guides outlined the duties for head millers, second millers, third millers and mill hands known as 'dusties', 'boys' and flour 'packers'. The number of these depended on the number of millstones in the mill, and the amount of grain arriving for grinding, which varied seasonally.[51] The first miller took charge of the mill's business, examining each stone's progress and making necessary improvements. He typically came on duty after breakfast and worked until 11 at night. The second miller was capable of taking charge in the absence of the head miller. He, with the third miller, dressed the stones by four o'clock each day, swept and followed the instructions of the head miller.[52]

At a minimum, what the Thompsons required to run the mill was someone competent to "take in wheat" but they also needed millers with skill and honesty who could win the confidence of both the farmers and the Thompsons.[53] At Ruthven Mills, over the years, there were ten known first millers. The earliest miller was John Walker, employed by Thompson I in 1839.[54] The longest serving was William Woolaway, who was first miller from 1860 to 1869.[55] His brother John was also a miller. The need to hire second millers arose in the 1850s. Between 1851, when John Findlay was hired as an assistant, and 1878 when

George Addison was discharged because of "slack time", there were ten second millers. [56] There was one third miller, Andrew Gorman, between 1877 and 1878.[57] There were also two packers between 1857 and 1859.[58]

Although the Thompsons owned the saw mill in Indiana it was generally not run by the Thompson family. Instead, the mill was rented out. The earliest indication of this was when the son-in-law of Thompson I, John H. Rogers, rented the mill from 1852 to 1863. The Thompson account books, therefore, do not reflect who worked at the saw mill or what they did. However, there were times when the Thompsons paid labourers to work at the mill doing repairs. Thomas Finlen worked at the saw mill as a labourer for 75 cents per day in 1861. Likewise, Hugh Gilmore, James Greenman, Michael Hanon, Peter Leroy, Michael Scanlon and John Walters also worked as labourers at the saw mill in 1861.[59] The only saw miller that Thompson paid himself was Norris Humphry, in 1851, before John Rogers took over.[60] The situation was the same in Deans. Thompson rented, to George and Christopher Stevenson, "Mill Site number one between the Deans Dam Canal and the Grand River", as a saw mill, on 25 January 1877. The lease allowed for "Surplus Water as shall be requisite to run the machinery... through the medium of a Driving Wheel for the working of Machinery as follows: One large circular Saw, one Edging Saw and Bull Wheel, one Slab Saw and one Shingle Mill."[61]

The carding mill in Indiana caused continuous problems for Thompson II. In 1861, one of his earliest initiatives, after taking over his father's estate, was to spend $1,734.30 for a new carding and fulling machine.[62] James Lees was an

employee at the mill as a dyer and scourer in 1860, a job that he held until 1864. His brother William Lees was the assistant carder in 1862 and 1863.[63] In January 1864, in spite of the investment in machinery and repairs, Thompson no longer showed any carding sales at the carding mill.[64] James Lees then leased the Carding and Fulling Mill from Thompson for two years, beginning in 1864.[65] Instead of renewing the lease, Lees purchased the mill from Thompson on 23 February 1866.[66] Because Thompson held the mortgage, he purchased insurance on the mill. Surprisingly, in the paperwork associated with the 1874 insurance on the mill, James Lees was listed as a "clothier" not a carder.[67] In 1871, James Lees and his wife Jane bought lots 13 and 14, in Indiana, from the Haldimand Navigation Company.[68] Presumably because Lees needed cash for his Carding Mill, Thompson and his wife Elizabeth provided James and Jane a mortgage on the property in 1875.[69] In 1878, Lees forfeited the carding mill back to the Thompsons, after part of the mill was washed away in the spring flood that year.[70]

Historian Felicity Leung points to the contemporary understanding that, "The best millwrights, like poets, were born".[71] Millwrights sometimes came into the trade as mechanics, but often through carpentry, milling or sawyering. Typically these individuals first served as apprentices under a master millwright. Millwrights needed to possess knowledge of drafting and the fundamental principles of power and machinery. They also needed to know how to harness the correct amount of power, how to erect a mill proportionately and how to arrange all its machinery efficiently.[72] The contemporary respect for the

millwright's craft was captured in the view that "The whole mechanical knowledge of the country was centred on him." Millwrights were generally looked upon as men of considerable knowledge and intellect.[73] They needed to study the numerous variables of each mill site, including the height and features of the bank; the height, entrance and exit of the water; the road or approach for convenient loading and unloading of grist; whether the mill was to do custom or merchant work and how much; the type, quantity and position of machinery required for the particular head and quantity of water, and the material of construction.[74] The millwright's skill was undoubtedly important to both Thompson men as they struggled against the spring freshets that regularly damaged mills and dams along the Grand River. They also would have relied heavily on the mechanical skill of millwrights to ensure that the mills remained in proper working condition.

Labouring under such challenges, with their successful resolution often resting on the sole millwright's expertise, the millwright might make numerous and repeated errors in mill construction.[75] Although it is difficult to assess exactly where the problems lay, as previously noted, it is evident that there were many difficulties arising in the Thompson mills over time. Just after Thompson I died, the executors hired a number of millwrights in rapid succession: David Ryckman (1851-1852), Sylvester Stephens (1852), William Baker (1852) and Andrew Melville (1852) for repairs on mill furniture.[76] When Thompson II was in charge of the finances, he hired John Robertson for a much lengthier and reasonably more stable tenure, from 1864 to 1878.[77] Robertson had started in the employ of

Thompson I as a labourer, in 1851, at the age of 31.[78] He also worked as a contractor in building an addition to one of Thompson II's stores in 1862.[79] He must have won the confidence of Thompson II; in 1864, he was hired to fix the grist mill. In 1865, he fixed the wood saw at the saw mill.[80] He also tendered an offer to repair the Indiana Bridge when the embankments were washed out in 1866.[81] Robertson continued fixing various pieces of equipment, primarily at Ruthven Mill, until 1878.[82]

According to William Wylie, the typical smith worked in a small rural shop and used traditional hand tools. He usually worked alone or with the aid of one or two others, and focused his attention on all manner of iron-working tasks. Along with the carpenter and the millwright, the smith was usually one of the first tradesmen to locate in a new community.[83] Generally, the more highly developed the region, the higher was the proportion of smiths. In the 1851 census, 16 of 42 counties boasted one or more smiths for every 200 persons. With the development of the market economy in a community, the services offered by blacksmiths expanded and the proportion of smiths in the population tended to increase as well.[84] Indiana did not quite follow that trend: there were 11 blacksmiths in the 1830s, 3 in the 1850s and 1860s, 5 in the 1870s, and then 3 in the 1880, for a total of 25 blacksmiths over the years of this examination. Considering that Indiana hit its peak of known population in the 1860s, there appears to have been a disproportionately large number of smiths during most of the other decades. The building of the canal and lock in the 1830s explains why there was a large population of smiths on the Thompson payroll during those

years. Canal smiths dealt with many of the same fittings as others, for instance, bolts, rings, hinges, but they were intended for gate and canal lock hardware.[85] With the cessation of Thompson large-scale building projects after the dam collapse at Deans in 1881, there is little wonder that there were no more smiths on the Thompson payroll after the 1880s.

The most common objects manufactured or repaired by smiths included horseshoes, vehicular hardware, agricultural and artisanal tools and machines, and the omnipresent iron fittings – screws, nails, bolts, nuts, chains, clevises, hooks, staples, springs, rings and clamps.[86] Alexander Robb began as a blacksmith in Indiana in 1869. He repaired and made horse shoes, carriage rod, bolts and many other implements, on account with Thompson.[87] He created a partnership with George Kirkland in 1871. Kirkland and Robb had a blacksmith shop at Lock no. 1 from 1871 to 1874, at Mill Site No 3, with no water rights.[88] Their company repaired or sharpened: shoes, brick saws, grates, picks, shovels, files, rakes, pulleys, plows, mill picks, grass scissors, mill shafts, scythes, an ice cream freezer, hammers, and bracket for buggies, springs, hasps, sleighs, ice mallets, and nails. They also made new: shoes, bolts, iron washers, bolts, hinges, springs, staples, colter, cultivator, hooks, springs, wagon rack, book press, pig rings, and gate hinges.[89]

James Stack, one of the original shareholders of the Indiana Bridge Company in 1852, was a blacksmith from 1851 to 1872.[90] He was also part of the Indiana Subscription List that helped pay for the sidewalk through Indiana in 1862.[91] James worked for Thompson II in varying ways over the years, as a

blacksmith but also as a teamster.[92] He purchased lot 42 in 1853 and sold it in 1859.[93] Mickey (Michael) McKeown was one of the towns "persisters", owning a blacksmith shop from 1859 to 1891.[94] His house and lot fronted on Colborne Street (the River Road), the main street of the village."[95] In 1862, he purchased lots 66 to 76, 91 and 93. In 1869 he also bought lot 40. As late as 1885 he added lot 78 to his property.[96] He was still listed as a blacksmith and a wage earner in the 1891 Census, even though he was 80 years of age. Due to the reversion to agrarian lifeways in and around Indiana by that time, it is probable he worked for farmers instead of industry toward the end of his career. The rural smith survived the onslaught of industrialization but experienced ever-smaller employment opportunities. More products were mass-produced after 1870, including the horseshoes and nails that the smith had often made in the past. Even the scope of repairs became restricted, as factories manufactured replacement parts for ploughs, vehicles, and other hardware products.[97] Thus, like the mills and other industries in Indiana, by the turn of the twentieth century, the smith's work had virtually ceased.

iii. The Town's Services: Stores, Inns, Taverns and Lodgings

No town can experience growth and prosperity without its merchants. Many of those who sold merchandise to the public rented or bought their shops from the Thompsons. In addition to the dry-goods store operated by Charles and Patrick Farrell, Indiana had at least 8 other merchants and 2 grocers, most of them in business, not surprisingly, during its "golden years" of the late 1860s

through to about the mid-1870s.[98] After 1875 there were not any known merchants in Indiana, in part because many of the merchants moved to other locations, including Cayuga and Caledonia.[99] This movement away from Indiana, by merchants, is another example of how and why the town declined in the late 1870s and early 1880s.

Apart from the permanent storefront operations, there were the customary local pedlars who intermittently visited Indiana, plying their wares from carts, and selling to people at their homes.[100] Also serving the townspeople, as well as visitors, were the inns and taverns that were frequently the social centers of rural towns such as Indiana.[101] A large number of people were engaged in the hospitality industry; Indiana had a number of hotels, taverns, boarding houses and shanties that catered to a transient population. The range was broad, from respectable boarding houses, through various classes of inns, to the most rudimentary of shanties.[102] Moreover, the distinction between the different types of establishments was decidedly blurred as many people conducted multiple businesses out of a single location. Patrick and John Farrell owned the Anglo-American Hotel from 1861 to 1873.[103] They boarded James Boag, George Adams, Dennis Kenney, John O'Connell, Thomas McQuatty, John Quinn, Thomas Webb and Charles Farrell in 1871.[104] The hotel was also a tavern. The brothers were known to have whiskey, but no ale. They invested $1,200 in the business.[105] Miles Finlen owned the Indiana Hotel from 1864 to 1869.[106] Finlen, as noted, also owned a popular tavern known as The Swallow from 1861 to 1868.[107] The tavern was on his farm, Con 1, Lot 25.[108] Women were also inn and

tavern-keepers: Eliza (Ellen) Barry was the proprietor of the Royal Oak Inn from 1867 to 1871.[109] She held a tavern license in 1868.[110] In 1871, Barry boarded Alexander Kinnear, Richard Baker, George Fissette, William Irwin, Joseph Taylor and Andrew Jackman, all labourers, as well as George Shipway, who, as noted, worked as a teamster for Thompson.[111] Ellen Barry was unusual as she ran a profitable business in Indiana, seemingly without her husband's assistance. But in keeping with the appropriate gendered stereotypes of the nineteenth-century, her success was in a traditionally female arena. [112]

There were many variations on the inn-and-tavern scene as well. A number of townspeople kept only taverns. Maria and Thomas Shipway owned a tavern from 1858 to 1861, as did John Lynch (1858 – 1859) and William Cutliff (1868).[113] Others offered lodgings alone; many of these were paid to board workers for the Thompsons. Salmon Minor (1833 to 1837) and Eleanor McKeefer (1833 to 1838) were among the first of these. McKeefer was only 18 years old when she began boarding labourers, suggesting that she had become her family's chief breadwinner.[114] Mrs. Jane Shipway was paid to board millwrights in 1858 and Michael Martin was paid to board millwrights in Indiana in 1859; the latter was also paid to board men in a shanty in 1862.[115] John Switzer provided board for workers on the new dam in 1879.[116] It was not only workers, of course, who needed room and board, but also the elderly, frequently women without family or other recourse. The 1871 Census shows that Thomas Powers boarded two widows in Indiana that year, Catherine Callaghan and Alice Quinlin.[117]

v. Farming: Tenancy and Land Ownership

Farming was an integral part of the community both in and around Indiana. In many cases, land was rented or leased to individuals who signed contracts with varying requirements for both landlords and tenants. For the remainder, aside from those with enough capital to pay cash, land ownership was often accomplished by borrowing money for mortgages from private lenders of means, such as the Thompsons.[118] 1,115 individuals, as noted in Chapter 2, have been identified as farmers in the countryside surrounding Indiana, unless they had direct contact with the town, by living or working in it, they were not included in this study. There were, however, a number who rented farmland from the Thompsons; these will be considered in this section.

Rural patrimony was an economic orientation and household philosophy prevalent among many, but not all, farm families in North America until recent years. This strategy stressed that the acquisition, maintenance, and transmission of land and the means of production to succeeding generations within the extended family was one of the most important of all long-term household concerns and commitments in farm households. From this perspective, taking care of one's own, insuring the continuation of the lineal family, maintaining the family homestead, and passing on the means of production to immediate descendents were elements of a kind of sacred trust. These were typically the main motivations for commercially oriented farm production among the agrarian households that embraced these ideals.[119]

While it is true that most Upper Canadians earned their living by farming, not all farmers owned the land that their families worked. Historian Catharine Anne Wilson had demonstrated that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, tenancy was common for one-quarter to one-half of the occupiers of farm land in the province.[120] But there was much diversity among farmers in terms of wealth, social position and land ownership. Since farming was such a large occupational category, the economic assessment of the Upper Canadian farm community is important to any picture of nineteenth-century rural society. According to Peter Russell, the most clear-cut index of a farmer's status was his legal tenure to land.[121] Because of both scholarly assumptions and enduring folk traditions that have made renting land appear to be vastly inferior to ownership, tenancy during this period has been downplayed or even ignored.[122] Yet tenancy made economic sense for many reasons. First, it offered farmers an opportunity to learn the craft of farming in a new land without a major personal financial investment. It also provided a means of working and saving money so that farmers could climb the "agricultural ladder", allowing those who started out from the position of farmer's son, immigrant or labourer, to accede to tenant, and then to owner, acquiring skills and capital at each step up the ladder.[123] In addition, for some, tenancy was a speculative investment: the lease gave tenants "the rights to the use, management, possession, income, security, capital, and transmissibility of the property."[124] Finally, others deemed tenancy the best investment for themselves, even after they could afford to buy land, because tenancy also offered them the opportunity of attaining goals such as continuity on

the land and meeting the family needs over several generations.[125] However, the choice for many immigrants was not between owning and renting, but between renting and labouring. Even those who were relatively successful farmers in the mid-nineteenth century intermittently resorted to some waged employment in order to make ends meet.[126]

Recent historical literature has shown that tenants tended to be immigrants, and they also tended to be younger than those who owned land.[127] Those tenants who moved up the agricultural ladder were the "persisters": they had been in the province longer than other tenants, and they rarely moved.[128] Tenants considered transient, on the other hand, were actually very typical of newly-settled areas. Recent studies on early settlement in Canada indicate that one-quarter to two-thirds of the population moved; a statistic that included both tenants and owners.[129] Those who were transient, whether tenants or owners, shared the common characteristics of being younger than the permanent farming population, and having smaller farms, fewer improved acres, and fewer livestock. Tenants also commonly held short term contracts with their landlords.[130]

As of 1845, the Real Property Act required that all leases be deeded and signed in front of a lawyer, unless the lease was under three years in length. Leases could be of short or long duration, but the average, in Upper Canada, was three to seven years.[131] There was also a particular arrangement, known as the clearing or improvement lease, which was generally offered in newly-settled places where the tenant cleared the land in exchange for use of the lot. For landowners, the back-breaking work of clearing acres of land for the first

cultivation was a necessary form of capital accumulation, and consequently warranted entering into contractual obligations with tenants.[132] Such an arrangement often also included fencing the property and paying the local property taxes.[133] In Indiana, numerous individuals sold their "land improvements" to David Thompson I.[134] The earliest example of this took place in 1841, when George Monture Senior was paid by Thompson I for his "entire improvements and a field".[135] In 1842, Tom William was paid for his improvements on lots 1 to 7.[136]

After Thompson I died, his executors began renting parts of Ruthven Homestead for farming purposes. The terms of the leases varied considerably. Some had to clear land and build fences by the end of the lease, while others were instructed to exchange crop shares. Still others had buildings erected for them on Ruthven property. Some simply paid rent on a yearly basis. In 1852, James Barry rented part of the Homestead farm, which included an existing dwelling place. The house was repaired and upgraded by Thompson II between 1852 and 1854. The repairs included the installation of a new cellar as well as fixing drains and digging a well. The stable was also repaired between 1853 and 1854.[137] Barry continued renting the property until 1856.[138]

Another farmer, Edmund Bertram, rented 171 acres of the Homestead Farm from Thompsons' executors for a one- year term in 1852. That year the house was painted.[139] When Bertram renewed the lease in 1853, a new house was built for him by Indiana carpenters Dodds and Rutherford.[140] He continued renting the house until 1859. During that time Bertram sold butter, hay and oats

to the Thompson family. [141] On 30 June 1870, there is a notation in Thompson II's books that the Bertram "dwelling house burned this morning."[142]

More typical of the tenants on the Ruthven property was James Upton. Upton began renting from the Thompsons in 1866. He rented part of Ruthven Homestead and Slinks Island, as well as farming implements, for 2 years.[143] He also rented part of lots 1 to 10, containing 130 acres, for a 5 year term.[144] In 1869 he rented 69 acres, listed as "M" on the plan, for 10 years.[145] Upton was known to have resided in Indiana for 11 years. John Lynch, Upton's brother, began renting from the Thompsons in 1854. He also continued renting various parcels of land on Ruthven Homestead, as well as Slink's Island, with leases varying from three-year terms to ten years. Evidently a persister, Lynch's last known lease, in 1881, was signed for a ten-year period, making him a Thompson tenant for a total of 37 years.

Tavern and inn-keeper Miles Finlen owned his own home on Con 1, Lot 25, just outside Indiana.[146] But in addition to his own farm, he purchased 16 properties in Indiana between 1850 and 1864. He also rented 63 acres of Ruthven Homestead between 1854 and 1860.[147] Finlen defies the "typical" categorization of the period's tenant farmers. He was not a young man, as he was 48 years old in 1861, according to the Census that year. He was not a newly-arrived immigrant, as he was present in Indiana as early as 1842.[148] He began buying property in Indiana in 1850. He also owned commercial properties, a tavern and an inn, as noted. It could be argued that Finlen wanted to be a tenant farmer because he believed that the key to his financial independence lay

not in the size of his own holdings alone, but also in the amount of land that he had cleared for farming.[149] It is also probable that he was interested in expanding his hold on productive land. In total, there were 18 known tenant farmers on Ruthven Homestead and an additional 10 tenant farmers on lands near Indiana. Of course, there were many more tenant farmers in or near Indiana. This list is restricted solely to those who paid rent to the Thompson family.[150]

Male tenant farmers were not the only productive individuals who worked on the farms, as the farm wife, and the daughters, were also actively engaged in production. As *The Christian Guardian* reported, on 2 November 1829, reiterating the prevailing gendered understanding of the time, the wife's principal concern was the household. The farm wife engaged in "Spinning, weaving, sewing, clothes for all the family, cooking, preserving fruit, making butter and cheese, tending livestock, hauling water, keeping the fires going and the woodpile stocked, as well as washing and caring for the children."[151] Because the primary productive role for women was care and maintenance of the family, women often were not able to produce surpluses for market exchange. This was particularly the case when there were few labourers within the household unit, or when the family was still highly dependent on subsistence activities.[152] The layout of the settlements also limited women in marketing the goods they made at home. The farms were far apart and towns were generally further.[153]

Widows were one group of women who often could manage to produce goods for market consumption. But if they were widowed, almost the only accepted role for a woman in farming was as a landholder, renting out or

managing lands left by her husband; widows most often hired men to run the farms while they continued producing goods for local markets.[154] When John Walsh, a tenant farmer who leased lot 27 from Thompson II, died in 1875, his wife Mary Ann renewed the lease with Thompson on her own in 1876.[155] She continued farming the property until she died four years later, in 1880.[156] Mary Ann Walsh is the only known example, from the Thompson records, of a wife who took over the farm management on her own. More typical was Jane Pettigrew's situation. When her husband died in 1891, she hired a man to run the farm for her.[157]

Perhaps more than any other occupational category, farmers engaged in occupational pluralism to secure their family's economic survival. For many, the key was found in taking advantage of opportunities to be jack-of-all-trades and utilizing the numerous skills they had honed on their own farms to service the needs of businesses in towns and cities nearby. Most of Indiana's tenant farmers found ways of supplementing their income with a variety of paying jobs on the side. Even women were engaged in market activities that allowed them to make a significant economic contribution to, and also allowed them more financial freedom within, their families, as Chapter 5 will demonstrate.[158] Thus there was a clear connection between rural and industrial settings, as between tenants and landlords, in Indiana as elsewhere in the developing province. It is clear that neither could have prospered without the help of the other, as farmers found employment in industry while also selling their produce to Indiana markets. Industries such as the grist mill were supplied by farmers with grains that could

be milled and sold to markets far and wide.[159] As such, the term rural-industrial is fitting for the town of Indiana. The following sections are intended to "reanimate" the residents of Indiana and their day-to-day lives, at work, at home, and in the streets, over three different decades, the 1830s, 1860s and 1890s, thereby providing information about those who experienced rural industrialization first hand.

v. Revisiting Early Indiana: The 1830s

The historical evidence obtainable from the 1830s makes it clear that Indiana was a bustling, noisy, rowdy town almost from the very beginning. A walk in the area in 1834, for example, would likely have constituted an assault on the senses. Other than the stench accompanying the undisguised presence of livestock and human waste,[160] a visitor might confront a more varied sea of faces and Irish and Scottish voices than what was typical for like-sized Upper Canadian towns.[161] Also an important part of the landscape was the ever-present sound of sawing, hammering, carting and the movement of water. Apart from the cacophony there would have been the visual impact of construction in every direction. The largest, most imposing major construction project was the canal. Dug by hand, with the help of oxen and carts, the mud and rock and remnants would have been in view everywhere.[162] The trees that were not sawn and put to use defined the horizon.[163] Buildings were being erected as well, in these early days of Indiana, but more ubiquitous were the shanties, tents and other temporary structures in abundance to house the many labourers, often

transients, who were working to build the canal. As the decade progressed, efforts were made to build more permanent structures for the mills and other industries that were part of any growing town.[164] The grist and saw mills were the first and largest structures built by Thompson in order to facilitate further growth of the area.[165] There is little doubt that growth was his principal objective in the 1830s, and he hired large numbers of labourers, as evidenced by the advertisements that he placed locally.[166] As most did not have the option of not working for their keep, they heeded the call: 714 people are recorded in Indiana in this decade and, as previously noted, that number is probably not a fair reflection of the actual numbers who lived and worked there at that time.[167]

By the close of the 1830s, the majority of labourers Thompson hired had left Indiana in search of other viable employment. The shanties were largely dismantled, tents had disappeared, and the muddy, messy evidence of canal construction was significantly less obvious. For those able to look back on the decade's experiences, the town would give the impression of growth, prosperity and overall busy-ness for the most part, although, in all likelihood, the decade's end was much quieter. Those who remained in the area had witnessed the beginnings of mass population movement and commerce, with Indiana as the first stop up river on the newly-built canal system.

vi. Industrial Indiana: The 1860s

By the 1860s, Indiana was being touted as the largest industrial town in Haldimand County.[168] Since the 1830s, a grist mill, two saw mills, a carding and

fulling mill, two distilleries, a pail mill, a plaster mill, a brick and tile factory, and a cooperage had all been established in response to local market conditions. Merchants, tavern owners and innkeepers also made a good living there during the intervening years. In other words, the many businesses and industries in the town were proof that Indiana had become a thriving, well-serviced town in the thirty years since its inception.

One of the biggest changes in Indiana over these years took place on the level of housing. The labourers' haphazard shanties and squalid living conditions did not entirely disappear, but, by the 1860s, Indiana sported well laid out town plots, a public square, large residential lots, mill lots, a number of businesses, a school and two churches.[169] On many of the lots in the older part of the town, wooden houses, stables and other out-buildings associated with the tasks of daily living had been erected. In some houses, the luxury of window glass was in evidence, suggesting the intended permanence signified by pride of ownership in the attention paid to appearance.[170]

Although there was a mass exodus of labourers from Indiana after the canal was finished in the late 1830s, in keeping with the continued growth of business and industry, the town also saw a consistent increase in population from the 1840s through the 1850s and 1860s. The female population rose steadily following the 1830s, so that by the 1860s, women made up 35 percent of the known population in Indiana, significantly higher than the known population of 2 percent in the 1830s.[171] Children were also more visible in the data, some not only working but also attending school. The increased presence of women and

children also points to at least an intended permanence; the population was no longer predominantly transient men, often single or having left behind families, following the canal work. Looking at the raw numbers, there were 269 women and 497 men, for a total of 766 individuals. The 1860s saw Indiana's population reach its highest known point.[172]

During the 1860s a number of male occupations emerged for the first time that would not be seen in Indiana after that decade. For example, the records show the presence of an artist, a bridge builder, a clock maker, a clothier, two tanners and a whitesmith. Such occupations suggest that the town had matured and that style and aesthetics were becoming more important once the rough pioneering days were past. None of the occupations for women were new to this decade, and the vast majority of women who worked for wages were, as before, servants, nurses and housemaids.[173]

In addition to the specialized trades introduced in the 1860s, the construction trades were still well-represented: there were 3 blacksmiths, 12 carpenters, 3 contractors, and 4 painters. Of course the labourers cannot go unnoticed as they numbered 229, their highest number at any point in Indiana's history except during the height of canal-building in the 1830s.[174] This increase in labourers had to do with necessary repairs to the dam that supplied water to the mills in Indiana, and repairs to Ruthven Mill itself. In 1860, for example, Thompson II purchased a new water wheel for Ruthven Mill.[175] In 1863, new guard gates had to be installed on the dam.[176] In 1866, Thompson II had a new office built as well as a new mill race.[177] He also undertook various improvements

on the Ruthven property, including an addition to Ruthven Mansion in 1865, the installation of a new hot air furnace in 1866, the building of the gatehouse in 1867, repairs on the church in 1868 and the building of the summer house in 1869.[178]

The 1860s was an interesting decade from the perspective that townspeople came together to pursue two separate projects for the benefit of the entire community. The first project saw its beginnings in the 1850s, but was concluded in the 1860s. On 10 August 1860, Thompson II was elected President and Chairman of the Indiana Bridge Company.[179] He played an integral part in the governance and maintenance of the bridge, including personally paying off its mortgage on 17 December 1863.[180] On 4 March 1866, spring flooding washed out the bridge.[181] Thompson was instrumental in raising funds to have it rebuilt, but that effort was unsuccessful and the assets were sold at public auction in January 1867.[182] Despite the disappointing outcome, what made this a community-backed project is the fact that, over its fifteen year history, 47 individuals took part in the financing and running of the Indiana Bridge Company.[183]

In keeping with the spirit of community cooperation, a committee of Indiana residents was struck in 1862 to raise funds for a sidewalk that would run from the Thompson church to the school house through the centre of the village and beyond, if funds allowed. Thirty-eight individuals pledged their time, money and materials for this purpose.[184] The sidewalk committee received a number of tenders for the contract that was eventually awarded to Thomas Shipway. He

completed the sidewalk and submitted his invoice in April 1862.[185] Such community projects were unique to this decade, and each involved a fairly large contingent of the community. In the case of the Indiana Bridge Company, it was primarily business men and farmers who participated in the care and maintenance of the bridge, but where the sidewalk is concerned, the list of subscribers included labourers as well as the ubiquitous business leaders.

Life in Indiana in this decade included time for leisure pursuits. Nearby there was the Cayuga Race Course and Agricultural Grounds, where horses were raced and local residents, including Thompson himself, enjoyed time at the track.[186] Soirees, dances, musical events, games of handball and, of course, drinking in the local tavern, were all noted as vital social events in the town during this decade.[187] The development of such varied opportunities for leisure, recreation, and cultural activities demonstrates that the community had matured, and many of its residents had "settled", to the point where work was not their only focus for residents; they had the means, the time, and the opportunities to relax and enjoy themselves.

The 1860s was a significantly different decade, in terms of both the town's history and the lived experience of its inhabitants, than the 1830s. Gone were the temporary shanties that had predominated during the building of the canal.[188] Instead there were well-laid out town plots with wooden houses and out-buildings associated, as well as parks, sidewalks and gardens.[189] Men, women and children were present in the largest numbers seen in Indiana's history. New types of employment emerged, including artistic and architectural endeavours that

were oriented toward beautifying the town, to present an attractive face to the world. Although various building projects continued in this decade, and labourers of various types abounded, construction was mainly for pleasure or to reinforce previously existing buildings. In a few cases, buildings were moved and building materials salvaged from structures that were being torn down but, in the main, construction was not on the same scale as that witnessed in the1830s.[190] Other changes in the landscape include the depletion of the immense quantity of trees that once existed around Indiana; the last saw mill closed in 1869. By that time, the area around Indiana looked very different by then, now boasting cleared farmer's fields and open spaces.[191]

On a sensory level, those passing through would likely hear the sounds of French, German, Scottish, Irish and English voices. The town was probably still noisy from the clanging of various mills and the water wheels that supplied their power. Nor would its smell have improved, in all likelihood, thanks to the waste by-products from the mills that caused pollution in the air and water. As previously noted a few people died from diseases associated with impure water conditions, a common malady in nineteenth-century towns. All in all, the 1860s, which also marked the birth of the Dominion of Canada, must have presented a prosperous, expanding and somewhat idyllic picture to those who happened upon the town, as it embraced, and prospered upon, both the rural and the industrial opportunities of the times.

vii. Decade of Decline: The 1890s

If the 1860s saw the highest population figures in Indiana's history, already by the 1870s the numbers were falling. People began to move away and were not being replaced by new migration to the area. The population dwindled from a high of 766 in the 1860s to a total of 64 in the 1890s. With the decline in population came the inevitable loss of businesses and therefore employment opportunities, which created a vicious downward spiral. For all intents and purposes, construction ground to a halt. The only new occupations in this decade were those of railroad station engineer and female "typewriter". Otherwise, most employment was found in farming and gardening.

In addition to the outward migration that so depleted the town, David Thompson II became ill in the early 1880s and died in 1886. His wife Elizabeth did her best to carry on with his businesses, but without new ventures and new plans, there was little that she could do to help rebuild the town. The town's fate, of course, was not determined solely by the fact that Thompson's premature death removed a key business and social leader whose family had established and built Indiana; more important contributing factors were the obsolescence of water power, which he had not accepted in a timely manner, and the fact that railroads had, by then, bypassed Indiana altogether. In other words, after the 1860s the decline of Indiana was probably partly precipitated for technological reasons.[192]

In considering how town life unfolded in the decades between the 1860s and the 1890s, what emerges is a sense that things were being shut down, used

up or simply abandoned. The Catholic Church used St. Rose of Lima as a cemetery until 1860; the last mass was said in the church in 1874 and the last mention of Indiana in the registry at St. Stephen's, Cayuga, was in 1881.[193] By the 1890s, nothing more than the cemetery stones remained, although it appears that salvaged materials from St. Rose of Lima Church were probably re-used, as was the case with other abandoned buildings (Chapter 6 discusses this further).[194]

The grist mill was a major source of income, thus family wealth, for both Thompson men, but there were frequent problems with the dam that supplied the water power in the 1870s and 1880s. Consequently, after numerous and expensive attempts to repair the damages, Ruthven Mill was silenced and eventually abandoned by 1885.[195] The saw mills were closed in the 1860s and the rest of the mills ceased operations by the late 1870s. Most businesses in the town also shut down during the 1870s and 1880s as the declining population meant that they were no longer viable.

In comparing the Indiana of the 1830s with that of the 1890s, the most obvious, visible difference marking the latter years was the absence of trees and people. Few permanent structures were left by 1900, other than the canal, the cemetery and Ruthven Mansion. What was once a bustling industrial centre reverted back to its agrarian roots and became a place where farming was the chief occupation for most residents in the area by the turn of the century.

This chapter has considered the business, community and social relations of those who resided in Indiana between 1830 and 1900. It has been argued that

transiency was a conscious choice of many residents, as was tenancy. Perhaps more surprising is the fact that many residents undertook a variety of jobs in order to ensure their ability to provide for themselves and their families. Absent from this discussion, however, is any real consideration of women and children, Blacks, Indians, and to some degree the Irish. There were a few instances when they were present in this description of town life, but for the most part, these Indiana residents were silent or hidden. The following chapter will address their situation and attempt to shed light on those that history has ignored or forgotten.

Endnotes

[1] See *Appendix B: Occupations and Census Categories for Males in Indiana, by Decade;* Gray Graffam ,"Archaeology at the Marmora Ironworks: Results of the 1984 Field Season", *Ontario Archaeology*, No. 43, (1985), 43, found that, by 1861, 44 percent of the workforce in Marmora, an industrial town that produced iron, and 34 percent of the workforce in Rawdon, an agricultural township immediately south of Marmora, comprised male labourers.

[2] Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 93.

[3] Elizabeth Bloomfield and GT Bloomfield *Patterns of Canadian Industry in 1871: An Overview based on the First Census of Canada*, (Department of Geography, Guelph: University of Guelph, September 1990), 15.

[4] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 37.

[5] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 16-17, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; There were numerous references to this distillery in David Thompson's business journals at Ruthven. See for example: *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*; *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881; Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64;* Bruce Emerson Hill *The Grand River Navigation Company*, (Brantford: Brant Historical Society Publications, 1994), 32.

[6] Hill, 1994, 57; *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[7] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 46.

[8] There are numerous references to him as a distiller. See for example: *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*; Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Hill, 1994, 32.

[9] Hill, 1994, 57; *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[10] *St Catharine's Journal*, July 30, 1857.

[11] "Distillery, Indiana", from the *Tremaine Map of Haldimand County*, 1863.

[12] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[13] *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[14] Hill, 1994, 32.

[15] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 165, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[16] Land sale: basement recroom, large buffet, #1C, inside left, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[17] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 27.

[18] Hill, 1994, 57.

[19] McCalla, 1993, 95.

[20] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 62, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[21] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, pp 20, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[22] *1867 Gazetteer*, Haldimand County.

[23] Attic pigeonhole 33A, #35 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[24] *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[25] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 31.

[26] There are many references to his farming, primarily because he rented land from David Thompson for that purpose. See for example: attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #13 - 3 pgs; attic pigeonhole 33A, #12A front and back; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 80, 121 and 252; Attic pigeonhole 25AA, #56, pg 1-93, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[27] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[28] March 14, 1872, *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp 20, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[29] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*; *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64*; *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, pp 7, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; 1861 Census for Haldimand County.

[30] *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[31] *Bills Receivable and Bills Payable, 1856-1868,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[32] *General Journal 1870-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[33] Canada, Department of Agriculture, *Manual containing the Census Act and Instructions to Officers*, Sessional Paper 64, Ottawa, 1871.

[34] Peter A Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada 1815-1840*, (Canadian Studies, Volume 6, Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 13-14.

[35] Hill, 1994, 32; *1867 Gazetteer, Seneca Township.*

[36] Elizabeth Bloomfield and GT Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops, Mills and Factories: The evidence of the 1871 Census Manuscripts: Research Report 11*, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1991), 26; 1871 Census for Haldimand County; *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[37] Attic pigeonhole 23, #43, 4 pages; *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*; attic pigeonhole 56, #71A front; attic pigeonhole 38A, #19, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[38] There were 23 shoemakers in total in Indiana. See: list of shoemakers in "List of names of people in various occupations in Indiana", *Appendix G;* "Statement of shoes made and repaired", attic pigeonhole 33B, #7 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[39] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1991, 25.

[40] 1871 Census for Haldimand County and *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana* both listed him as a shoemaker, as did *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62, no pg #*; He was listed as a teamster in: *Petty*

Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870; *Indiana Day Book, 1866-1870*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 17, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[41] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[42] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga, pp 63; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 81, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[43] 1881 Census for Haldimand County; *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[44] Felicity L Leung, *Grist and Flour Mills in Ontario: From Millstones to Rollers, 1780-1880's*, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, (Hull: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1981), 96.

[45] Russell, 1990, 145.

[46] Leung, 1981, 96.

[47] Ruthven Mill Receipts for 1874, attic pigeonhole 25AA, #56, pg 1-93, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[48] Letter from Alexander Macduff to David Thompson, Deans, February 21, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #39 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[49] Letter from Alexander Macduff in Winnipeg to David Thompson, Ottawa, February 1, 1882, attic pigeonhole 25AA, #11, pages 1 to 6, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[50] See: *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[51] "The main effort of millers grinding low was to make as much fine white flour as possible from a bushel of wheat, whatever its type. This was more easily done with soft fall or winter wheat. Being moister their tough rubbery husks did not break up readily and were easily separated as bran from the white flour. Soft wheat usually had a white inner seed coat and a white starchy endosperm which was easily reduced to white flour – or to a starchy hot paste that coated millstones and clogged the bolts if the miller and stone dresser lacked skill. The higher moisture content of winter wheat which varied according to the season, soil and way it was stored, could be reduced by kiln drying or else by drying the flour before bolting. Hard spring wheat, on the other hand, was dry and often amber. Its brittle husk was milled into fine particles not easily sifted from first-quality flour. Greater pressure was used to break the hard seeds, and often the naturally amber flour was further discolored by the scalding heat, in addition to being specky from the bran. It was unfortunate and whiteness of flour was considered valuable, since the darker spring wheat flour, being richer in protein and gluten, was best for break making. Millers seeking to overcome heated flour milled higher to reduce the pressure. This left a large percentage of 'middling's', coarse granules containing the hard glutinous and protein-rich part of the kernel. Regrinding the middling's created a second-quality flour graded 'fine' and later 'superfine 2'." From: Leung, 1981, 96-97.

[52] Leung, 1981, 96.

[53] Leung, 1981, 97.

[54] *Petty Ledger #4, 1839-40,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[55] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, pp 1-10; *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 88, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[56] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859; General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 358, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[57] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[58] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[59] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[60] David's 1863 briefcase, Bundle #3 (main box), Doc #1, Front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[61] Indenture, October 25, 1877, attic pigeonhole 33A, #10 3 pgs, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[62] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pp#, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[63] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 72, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[64] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-1864*, pp 245-246, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[65] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22A, #18 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[66] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 343, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[67] Insurance, attic pigeonhole 32, #17B, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[68] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[69] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881*, pp 450 and attic pigeonhole 22AB1, #7 - 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[70] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881*, pp 450, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[71] Leung, 1981, 92.

[72] Leung, 1981, 96.

[73] Sir William Fairbairn, *Treatise on Mills and Millworks*, (London: Longmans and Green, 1878), x.

[74] Leung, 1981, 97; John S Wilson "Upper Factory Brook Sawmill, Middlefield, Massachusetts", *Industrial Archaeology*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (1977), 43.

[75] Wilson, 1977, 43.

[76] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[77] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 90, 165, 196 and 226; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 12, 33 and 156, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[78] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[79] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[80] *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[81] Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company - tender presented for repairing bridge, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[82] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[83] William NT Wylie, "The Blacksmith in Upper Canada, 1784-1850: a study of technology, culture and power", *Canadian Papers in Rural History, Vol. VII,* (ed.) Donald H Akenson, (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1990), 46.

[84] Wylie, 1990, 46.

[85] Wylie, 1990, 49.

[86] Wylie, 1990, 48.

[87] Attic pigeonhole 33B, #12A and attic pigeonhole 33B, #39, 3 pgs, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[88] Attic pigeonhole 49, *Diary – 1873*, #2-137; *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[89] "Accounts for Kirkland and Robb", attic pigeonhole 33B, #33A front and back; attic pigeonhole 61A, #19 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[90] Minutes Indiana Bridge Company, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[91] "Sidewalk subscription list", TV room, 2 of 5, Doc #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[92] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*; he was paid to haul logs in 1862: *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[93] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga, pp 21.

[94] There are numerous entries regarding the work the Michael McKeown (McKeowen, McEwen, McCewan) did for Thompson II over the years 1859 to 1891. See for example: *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*; *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870*; *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; *Mary Nelles' Notes*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[95] Andrew Ruthven Thompson, "The Story of Indiana when it was a Village with 600 or more Population and one of the important Business Centres along the Grand River", *The Haldimand Advocate*, Thursday August 3, 1950.

[96] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga, pp 33-39.

[97] Wylie, 1990, 183.

[98] Charles and Patrick Farrell 1868-1874 were dry-goods dealers. Robert Henry Street 1851-1855, Charles McKenna 1861-1868, John Craigie 1852-1865, William Waugh 1857-1866, Daniel

Heenan 1858-1868, Thomas Slaven 1861-1874, Patrick Finlen 1869-1879 and CE Bourne 1874-1875 were merchants. Michael Madigan 1867-1869 and Michael Durkin 1859-1867 were grocers.

[99] For example, Charles Farrell was a merchant who set up shop in Cayuga in 1879, *Canadian County Atlas Digital Project*; Peter McMullen moved from Indiana to Caledonia where he rented a storefront from Thompson II, beginning in 1880 through 1889 when he rented from Elizabeth Thompson. Attic pigeonhole 60C, #50A front and back and attic pigeonhole 36B, #10 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[100] For example, Mrs. Woolaway purchased an item from a "pedlar" Oct 14, 1861, *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pp#, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[101] This idea has been recognized by Historians for many years. See for example: Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers *Tavern in the Town: Early Inns and Taverns of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); John R Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996; Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*, Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003.

[102] Russell, 1990, 59.

[103] There were multiple references to him, see: *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 81; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 123, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; 1861 and 1871 Census records for Haldimand County.

[104] 1871 Census record shows each of those men boarded at "John Farrell's hotel".

[105] 1861 Census record shows he was 22 years old and that he owned a tavern; Tavern licenses issues for 1868-1869 in Haldimand Co, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports.

[106] There are many references to Finlen. See for example: *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana*; *Mitchell's Canada Business Directory*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[107] Finlen obtained a license in 1868; see Thompson, *Haldimand Advocate*, 1950; Tavern licenses issues for 1868-1869 in Haldimand Co, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports.

[108] 1861 Census for Haldimand County.

[109] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[110] Tavern Licenses issued in Haldimand County, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Records.

[111] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp. 10, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[112] For scholarship on this issue see: Julia Roberts In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Elizabeth Jane Errington, Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[113] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*, Ruthven Park Archives; 1861 Census record for Haldimand County; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to* 1860, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Tavern licenses issues for 1868-1869 in Haldimand Co, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports.

[114] It would be instructive to have more information about Eleanor but all that is known is that she died in 1842 at age 27; Indiana Roman Catholic Cemetery Inscription. Others who were paid to

board workers for Thompson II were: Hiram Humphrey 1852, Michael Martin 1856-1859, and Mrs. Julia Leroy 1856-1860; see *Indiana Blotter #1, Jun 1858-Mar 1860* and *Indiana Day Book "A" 1854 to 1860* pp 8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[115] October 1858, *Indiana Cash Book A 1858-1864*, pp. 9-10; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*, pp. 294; *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp. 218, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[116] Attic pigeonhole 11AB, #9, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[117] For a complete list of Boarding houses, Inns and taverns in Indiana see: *Appendix G*, "List of names of people in various occupations in Indiana".

[118] There are many examples, over the years, of both Thompson men lending money for mortgages. See for example: Untitled Cash Book, 1872-1873, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[119] Mark D. Groover, *An Archaeological Study of Rural Capitalism and Material Life: The Gibbs Farmstead in Southern Appalachia, 1790-1920*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 5.

[120] Wilson, "Introduction", 2009.

[121] Russell, 1990, 19-20.

[122] Catharine Anne Wilson, *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 6.

[123] Wilson, 1994, 7.

[124] Wilson, 1994, 214; Catharine Anne Wilson *Tenants in Time*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 68.

[125] Wilson, 2009, Chapter 9.

[126] Daniel Samson, *Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800-1950*, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), 8.

[127] Wilson, 2009, 59.

[128] Wilson, 2009, 197; As noted in Chapter 3, J David Wood labeled those who remained in an area for a long time "persisters". J. David Wood, *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-creation before the Railway*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Wilson, 2009, 197.

[129] Wilson, 2009, 203; As already discussed in Chapter 2, as Bruce Elliott noted, in North America, at least 60 percent of any given municipal population left every ten years and were replaced by other people coming in; Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canada's: A New Approach, Second Edition*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2004), 247.

[130] Wilson, 2009, 205.

[131] Wilson, 2009, 65.

[132] Stephen Innes, *Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth Century Springfield,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 50.

[133] Wilson, 2009, 63; Innes, 1983, 52.

[134] These "improvements" were probably more akin to selling their customary rights to the land but they were termed "land improvements" in the Thompson documents. Surprisingly, it must be noted that nowhere in the documents was "squatting" mentioned. It must have been a common phenomenon in Indiana, particularly since there was such a transient population of labourers, but nothing has been found about that issue.

[135] Artifact room, metal trunk 87E, #16, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[136] Artifact room, metal trunk, 87E, #2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[137] Expenses for New Buildings and Repairs on the Ruthven Homestead and Farm, *Indiana Petty Ledger #6*, Page 161 and 192, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. The notation specifically mentioned the "Barry" house throughout the expenses.

[138] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 53, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[139] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 168, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[140] *Indiana Petty Ledger B, 1851-1859*, pp 166 and *Indiana Petty Ledger #6*, 1851 to 1859, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[141] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[142] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 178, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[143] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #31 -3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[144] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #33, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[145] Attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #13 - 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[146] As noted in the 1861 Census for Haldimand County.

[147] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 74, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[148] 1842 Seneca Plan; Miles was married in 1842, Dan Walker, Unpublished Manuscript, 2007.

[149] Terry Crowley argued that the amount of land farmers had cleared mattered more than the actual land they personally owned. See: Terry Crowley, "Rural Labour", In: *Laboring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, Paul Craven (Ed), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 19.

[150] For the complete list of tenant farmers see: *Appendix G*, "List of Names of People in Various Occupations in Indiana".

[151] As quoted in: Russell, 1990, 55.

[152] Marjorie Griffin Cohen *Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 155. See also: Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[153] Cohen, 1988, 92.

[154] Russell, 1990, 103-104.

[155] Attic pigeonhole 21, #30A - 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[156] Attic pigeonhole 56, #74 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[157] 1891 Census for Haldimand County.

[158] For a more in-depth discussion of women in Indiana society, see chapter 5.

[159] There are numerous examples of both Thompson men buying grains of various kinds from local farmers that were then milled and sent to markets in Montreal and Halifax for transport elsewhere. See for example: Notes to Miller, 1874, attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[160] Joy Parr has written about the fact that while historians consider the visual elements of history, we are less likely to envision the smells that past peoples would have experienced. She argues that one of the reasons for that is that smells vanish as soon as we move away from the place we experienced it. Thus, she contends that history is told about what we see and hear. Karen Harvey supports that notion by saying that we need, as historians, to incorporate our sensory and emotional experiences of objects into our analysis. Karin Dannehl asserts the need for historians to be aware of sight, sound, touch, balance, hearing and smell in our analysis. Similarly, Richard Rath discussed sound and how important that was to those who were not literate and therefore relied on oral history. He noted that sounds could have been bells, voice or machines but all came together in ways that we should attempt to understand. In this study I can only imagine what that was like to literally be in the town of Indiana as I haven't found any direct evidence to suggest what people smelled or heard, but there is little doubt that Indiana would have offered an assault to the senses. See: Joy Parr, "Smells like?" *Environmental History* Vol. 11, Issue 2, 2-3; Karen Harvey "Practical Matters", *History and Material Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2009), 12; Karin Dannehl "Object Biographies: from production to consumption", *History and Material Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2009), 130; Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

[161] This information is derived from the known origins of people associated with Indiana. In the 1830's only 5 people were known immigrants, 3 of whom were Irish and 2 were Scottish. Everyone else was listed as having been from towns across Upper Canada, if their origins were listed at all. Donald Harmon Akenson has noted that in the 1842 Census there was a very large Irish-born population in Upper Canada however he also stated that the number was actually under-representative of the entire Irish population because enumerators recorded only the place of birth and not their origins. Consequently first generation Canadians were listed as Canadian and not Irish even though their parents were born in Ireland. This fact may explain why so few Irish immigrants were listed in the Thompson documents although it may be as simple as it wasn't an important piece of information to Thompson or his clerks who paid the bills. See: Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 16.

[162] Andrew Thompson wrote that his grandfather David Thompson I, used oxen to clear land when Indiana was being constructed, *Something About my Family*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[163] From the beginning there were references in the Thompson journals that Thompson was having the trees felled and was selling the lumber to his brother and others. See for example: June 16, 1837, letter from David Thompson to his brother Archibald telling him he was moving lumber from Indiana to Archibald, David's 1863 briefcase, B#3, Doc 11; June 20, 1837, another

letter from Thompson to Archibald telling him he was sending lumber, front hall back bookcase, file#4, Doc 16; August 17, 1838, letter from Thompson to Archibald regarding the shipment of lumber, Davids 1863 briefcase, #3, Doc 3, all found: Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[164] McCalla, 1993, 92-93.

[165] See: Specifications of Castings for Grist Mill, July 21st, 1837, Attic Pigeonhole #12B, Doc #9, front, back and inner left and right, Thompson Family Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[166] Advertisement, *British American Journal*, May 27, 1834 and Advertisement, *British American Journal*, June 10, 1834.

[167] The figure of 714 was derived from a chart I produced of Men and Women in Indiana by Decade. The figure represents 16 women and 698 men.

[168] John Triggs, *Archaeological Mitigation of the Stable/Coach House Ruthven Park National Historic Site, 243 Hwy #8, Cayuga, Ontario*, Historic Horizon Inc., Toronto, Ontario, (August 2005), 2.

[169] *Plan of the Village of Indiana in the Township of Seneca, County of Haldimand*, certified on March 4 1869 and registered Jan 18, 1870. Map found: Registry office, Cayuga.

[170] Window glass shards were the second largest architectural artifact recovered on the West Field during excavations in 2006 and because of the varying thicknesses of the glass, it suggests that there was considerable re-use of older windows as well as the addition of newer ones.

[171] It is assumed that this change over time was not a literal change, as women were likely always present in Indiana, but rather women began to be recorded more often in historic documents. Interestingly, analysis of the census data from 1861, 1871 and 1881 has revealed that there were more women than men, in actual numbers and not percentages, by the 1870's. Indeed, the census evidence showed that men began to leave Indiana while women remained behind. However, using larger bodies of data than just census information reveals a different story and suggests that men and women were recorded in history in very different ways. For detailed analysis of this see: Kris Inwood and Richard Reid, "Gender and Occupational Identity in a Canadian Census", *Historical Methods*, (Guelph: University of Guelph, 2000); Elizabeth Bloomfield and GT Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops, Mills and Factories: The evidence of the 1871 Census Manuscripts: Research Report 11*, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1991).

[172] As already noted, David Thompson himself declared that the population of Indiana was 3000 in 1863. Even if he was out by 1000 people, which seems unlikely, or he was a particularly bad estimator, there is little doubt that the population was probably considerably higher than has yet been determined. See: Dedication by Alexander Mitchell and David Thompson on the occasion when a cornerstone was deposited in the new Head Gates of Ruthven Mill, July 31, 1863, Attic Pigeonhole 12B, #3, Front and Back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[173] See: *Appendix H: Occupations and Census Categories for Females in Indiana.*

[174] See *Appendix B: Occupations and Census Categories for Males in Indiana, by Decade*. It must be noted that there were probably many labourers hired for the building of Ruthven in the 1840s but as noted in Chapter 2, the documents on the build have not been located. If the information does become available it is probable that the number of labourers hired would rival the number in the 1860s but that is only speculation.

[175] *Bills Receivable and Bills Payable, 1856-1868,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[176] Statement of expenses found: Attic pigeonhole 55A, #35 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[177] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 68 and 280, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[178] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 273 and 57; Agreement between Thompson II and Thomas Baker to build the Gate House at Ruthven Mansion, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #21; 3100 bricks, labor, digging cellar, carpentry work, teaming, masonry, stove and pipes for Thompson Church, Indiana, attic pigeonhole 59, #2 front; contract to build summer house at Ruthven, according to plan by Geo Laing, Artifact Room, Col ATT trunk, 8, #3 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[179] As found: *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"* X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[180] Note found: Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[181] "Freshet in the Grand River: Indiana Bridge Destroyed", *Grand River Sachem.* March 4, 1966.

[182] *Minutes of the Indiana Bridge Company*, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, November 13, 1866, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[183] "Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company",X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[184] Hand written document, titled "Old Side Walk Subscription list", found: TV room, Doc #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[185] Invoice from Thomas Shipway to Sidewalk Committee, April 23, 1862, attic pigeonhole 10AB, #63 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[186] Notations about the track were found in various places including: *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 156, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[187] For more information on this, see Chapter 3.

[188] Shanties still existed outside the town where logging and other natural resource extraction was taking place.

[189] Various people rented gardens from Thompson II, including William McKay in 1860, *Indiana Ledger B, 1860 to 1881,* pp 164; Michael White in 1861, *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, April 1, 1862, no pp#, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[190] There are numerous examples of houses that were moved or salvaged. See for example: *Indiana Day Book A 1858-1864*, James McCue pp. 52, Thomas Mclory pp. 60; *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pp#; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860, General Journal 1870*-1877, pp 145, Thompson paid John Young to move a store from Cayuga to Deans, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[191] The last saw mill was owned by Thomas Lester. He sold the mill to Thompson in 1869. See: Land sale: basement recroom, large buffet,#1C, inside left, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[192] This issue is explored in other chapters, specifically in Chapters 1 and 7.

[193] *Chronology of Catholic Church in Indiana*, personal communication with Sylvia Weaver, Cayuga.

[194] Personal Communication with John Triggs after the excavation of St. Rose of Lima Church, Indiana, Fall 2007. The final report of this excavation is pending.

[195] For further information on this issue, see Chapter 1.

Chapter 5 - The "Other" Indiana: Gender, Ethnicity and Race

This chapter will consider the "hidden" members of Indiana society by looking more closely at the intersecting subjects of race and ethnicity, gender and age, and to a lesser extent, concepts of nation.[1] Although the extant historic accounts of Ruthven Mansion have focused primarily on the two David Thompsons and their efforts to expand water transportation, mercantile trade, and industry in Indiana, such a perspective, centering on men in power, obscures the very real participation of women and children of all backgrounds who also lived and worked there during these years, as well as the Irish Catholic labourers, the small Black community, and the Natives who had an important ceremonial long house on what became the elder David Thompson's property. Each of these groups has been largely left out of the historical picture. This chapter will endeavor to redress that problem by recognizing that women, children, Irish Catholics, Blacks and Natives were all systematically marginalized in Indiana, as they were in the larger nineteenth-century society.

i. "Unpacking" Gender and Family in Indiana

To uncover , as much as possible, the "invisible" or "hidden" individuals and social groups in Indiana, it is necessary to read closely, at times "between the lines", to find evidence about their lives in such a way as to avoid rigid categorization. Indeed, household and family defy singular definition because they lay claim to a multiplicity of forms, functions and meanings. The household does not belong exclusively to those related by blood or marriage, for example,

so household and family clearly overlap, but are not necessarily one and the same. The life cycle is fundamentally and inextricably tied to the births, marriages, migrations, and deaths of their members. Thus, household and family are deeply implicated in the social reproduction of individuals, where race, class and gender identities are constructed.[2]

As archaeologists Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott have remarked, "If we cannot locate women in the past, then how can we be sure that we have located men? And children? Logically, *everyone* in the past is therefore invisible."[3] In the historical documents pertaining to business and society in Indiana, most of the references were to the Thompson men, their male employees or, more rarely, the servant girls and widows who were either employed by, or received charity from, the Thompsons. This is not surprising as historians have commented on that point repeatedly in their scouring of archival material and in their search for the voices of ordinary people. The surviving historical sources clearly privilege white, Protestant, middle and upper class families because those are the families whose personal papers are most likely to have been preserved by historical societies and archives.[4] That is certainly the case at Ruthven Park National Historic Site: the documents are full of information about the two David Thompsons, but sorely lacking where their wives and other women, related or not, are concerned.

Because identity is gendered, and the organization of sexual difference is central to social interactions, distinctions between men and women shape experience, influence behaviour, and structure expectations. Moreover,

masculinity and femininity are constructs that are fluid, yet specific to particular points in time. As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall point out, they are "categories continually being forged, contested, reworked and reaffirmed in social institutions and practices as well as a range of ideologies."[5] However, the scholarly work on masculinity in the nineteenth century seems to classify male roles as fairly scripted, predictable, and uniform.[6] Accepting that viewpoint allows an understanding of the values that the nineteenth-century middle class preferred to embody in men, who were expected to be rational, stable and strong in upholding Christian morality, as well as being effective providers and household heads.[7] The period's domestic ideals held that most middle-class women were to be exemplary wives and mothers before anything else.[8] Together, the idealization of men and women along specific gendered lines led to the urban middle class increasingly embracing a strict sexual division of labour; rural gender roles, of necessity, had to be a bit more flexible.[9] While it is clear that the Thompson men, at least publically, fit the ideals of Victorian manhood, their experience, as wealthy and influential men, cannot be said to represent that of the majority of men and women who lived and worked in Indiana. It is therefore important to discuss *how and where* individuals fit the ideals, and *when and why* they did not.

In pre-industrial society, family authority is often described as patriarchal. The productive household was dependent on the labour of family members, servants and apprentices, taking shape as a "pyramidal structure," with the authority of the father at the top. His job was to make decisions about production

and to organize the labour resources of the household, administering discipline when needed. His authority depended on his control of production and his daily presence in the home. The wife was considered a supportive partner, but not an equal to her husband. She was accountable to him for her management of the household.[10] What developed was the idea that home was a man's domain, where his duty was to protect, provide and rule. Further, the prescriptive literature, available to educated men of the day, molded male behaviour along certain predetermined lines.[11] Such views were frequently endorsed in men's published writings as well as their letters and diaries. In the words of John Tosh, "The full weight of Evangelical Christianity, essentially a *domestic* religion, was thrown behind it. For two generations – from the 1830's to the 1870's – didactic writers in Victorian England were almost at one in declaring that bourgeois men not only had time for a domestic life, but a deep and compelling need of it."[12]

It quickly became apparent, however, that the socialization that placed men at home was strikingly at odds with the direction of industrial society in the mid-nineteenth century.[13] From the 1870s the view was increasingly heard that domesticity was unglamorous, unfulfilling and "unmasculine". Yet this was the period when belief in sexual difference was more absolute than at any time before or since. Intellect, emotions and character were all interpreted as resulting from sexually-polarized opposites.[14] For example, as noted in Chapter 3, drinking has long been part of the gendering of male identities. Moreover, it has been a potent symbol of patriarchal privilege in public places. As historian Craig Heron argues, the acceptance or rejection of alcoholic consumption was based on an

array of characteristics assigned to identities of class, gender, ethnicity and race.[15]

In a careful examination of the Thompson business documents, there is little doubt that, for the townspeople of Indiana, men were the ones who purchased alcohol the majority of the time. If a woman purchased alcohol there was always an accompanying notation that it was for her husband, her business (tavern) or her hired men. In thousands of entries regarding purchases of various sorts by the townspeople, there was not a single case of a woman having purchased alcohol without an accompanying explanation of who it was for, whereas the same cannot be said of men who purchased alcohol. For them it was a frequent and unquestioned occurrence. For the townspeople of Indiana, Heron's views appear to accurately depict the case of alcohol as a gendered experience.

Interestingly, the same can not be said of the Thompsons themselves. The business journals of David Thompson II indicate that his wife Elizabeth often purchased wine, brandy and whiskey on the Ruthven Mansion account, but there were no accompanying notes about who she was buying the alcohol for, or for what purpose. Since she was the only female purchaser for whom no notations were entered and it was primarily the accountants who kept Thompsons books, her social rank was probably being recognized in the absence of notations about her purchases.[16] Although it is unclear whether she was consuming the alcohol herself or using it for hospitality, the reality in Indiana was that Elizabeth's

judgement did not require scrutiny and that was the salient point regarding class distinctions.

Turning again to the business journals and letters of both David Thompsons, it is clear that the Thompson men embraced their roles as patriarchs, protectors and providers of their domestic and business interests. Further, there is considerable evidence that they both felt inclined to pass these ideals along to their employees and their children.[17] Tragically for the elder Thompson, while establishing businesses and developing the town of Indiana, he was widowed in 1840, and had to take care of his three children, ranging in age from 4 to 16, on his own. Because Thompson never remarried, he remained the sole parental caregiver for the rest of his life. Even with the considerable domestic help that he could afford to hire, he was a father who actually played a significant role in the rearing of his children. As such, his commitment to domesticity was clear. He was also a man upon whose shoulders the label "paternalistic", in its broader, community implications, ideally sat.[18] But, while both Thompson men embraced these ideals for themselves, it did not necessarily mean that the men of Indiana followed suit.

One measure of how some of the town's "ordinary" men might have complied with this particular masculine ideal is suggested by the civic efforts of some of those who lived or worked in Indiana. The men who established the Indiana Bridge Company in 1852, for example, were following the lead of Thompson I in exhibiting an interest in assisting the community to better itself, thereby providing a public face that identified each investor as civically

responsible and paternalistic in the largest sense.[19] Of course, there is little doubt that business owners had a vested interest in a functional bridge so that customers on both sides of the river would have ample opportunity to do business in Indiana, but the point remains that the investors in this bridge company were publicly acknowledged and lauded.[20] Likewise, the sidewalk project discussed in Chapter 4 also provided a means of publicly demonstrating that each investor was attentive to community and neighbours alike.[21] It cannot go unnoticed that the only woman who subscribed to the sidewalk project was Mrs. Shipway, who owned a tavern, along with her husband Thomas.[22] What would have prompted Mrs. Shipway to step outside her role as wife and mother and label herself not only as a tavern owner, but also as a subscriber to the building of a sidewalk?

Archaeologist Elizabeth M. Scott observes that "There is a general sense... that women have more gender than men, and African Americans have more race than white Americans. On reflection, the flaw in that logic is apparent".[23] In the nineteenth century, women attempted to incorporate earning into their lives while maintaining the ideal of the family home.[24] This ideal was manifested in all classes, although it was exhibited in different ways, depending on the economic standing of the household.[25] Many working-class women did stay at home, although they often supplemented the family income by doing piecework or by taking in laundry, sewing or boarders. Such work had a wage-earning component but it functioned to maintain the picture of the ideal family.[26] A working-class woman could also give her time to the family business,

particularly if the business and residence were located in the same building, without jeopardizing the ideal of domesticity.[27] Ultimately, the economic contribution of many of these working-class women was "off the record" because documents like the census listed "no occupation" for those women working in the home. Instead, they were classified as "housewives" who, by definition, did not contribute economically to their households.[28]

Despite the prevailing ideals about manly domestic roles, as discussed, the nineteenth-century cult of domesticity is commonly associated with women and children. The defining imagery is feminine. The intensification of the domestic ideal during this period is a major theme in women's history and gender and family history. It has occasioned a vigorous scholarly debate surrounding the concepts of public and private spheres for men and women. This separation is clearly gendered and involves a series of core dichotomies: production versus consumption, active versus passive, culture versus nature, men versus women and public versus private.[29] For some, the dichotomies are best explained by the narrowing range of activities open to women as their access to the public sphere became more and more restricted.[30] Yet, as some scholars point out, instead of seeing dichotomies as polar opposites, we have to recognize that they are integrally connected, representing differing aspects of the same social entity.[31]

Elizabeth Jane Errington has also challenged the concept of separate spheres for men and women. In her view, perceptions of femininity, embodied in the ideal of the woman in the private sphere, was *not* the economic or social reality of most women's lives in Upper Canada.[32] As she contends, "the majority

of women in Upper Canada could not, because of personal circumstances, emulate such standards. Despite the rhetoric of a woman's innate weakness, the actual work performed by women, as wives, sisters, mothers, farmers, craftswomen, mistresses and maids were essential to the development of the colony as a whole."[33] Indeed, for most immigrant and working-class women, "the trope of the lady" was a badly-flawed ideal that had little meaning for their lives. In spite of that fact, concludes Cecelia Morgan, "the category of virtuous womanhood helped shape the social, legal economic and political frameworks in which these women lived."[34]

ii. Women, Labour and the Family Economy

Work, in the nineteenth century, became identified with wage labour that was usually performed outside the home and primarily by men.[35] Joy Parr's examination of the rise of industry in small-town Ontario found that gender, as well as ethnicity, played a critical role.[36] Parr used the male breadwinner ideal to explain that, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, men applied "the breadwinning metaphor to encapsulate their family values and justify their domestic divisions of labour."[37] However, Parr effectively argues that men were more than their economic roles, and that households were governed by more than the man's relationship to the market. She begins with the premise that humans are not easily categorized in binary identities, but rather that we all exist simultaneously within such social constructs as gender, class, race, ethnicity and nationality.[38] One of the most interesting issues Parr tackled was that of the male

breadwinner myth and how men could not and did not support their families on the wages from their jobs alone.[39] Marjorie Griffin Cohen has also demonstrated that women's work has been a critical, if neglected, element in the study of the development of industrialization in Ontario. As she argues, rapid transition from early staple development to industry brought about an increase of waged work for women.[40] Yet, the types of occupations open to women only confirmed the established view of what sorts of work they *ought* to be doing. Consequently, women worked as servants, prostitutes, teachers, and in 'female' types of business that primarily centered on the household and family.[41]

In the nineteenth century, women's informal work training began at an early age as they were domestic helpers around the house. Older daughters had to help look after younger brothers and sisters when the mother was otherwise occupied with daily household work, or sick, as well as to assist her in everyday housekeeping.[42] Such work often interrupted their formal schooling. Children, male and female, were often 'taken away' from school between the ages of twelve and fourteen to assist their parents, whether at home, in the fields, or in the workforce.[43] As a result, women's formal waged labour typically began at around age 14 or 15. But working-class family survival often depended as much on the unpaid or informal labour of women and children as it did on the wages of breadwinners. Increasingly, however, children rather than wives became the usual secondary wage earners.[44] Such was not the case in rural areas of Ontario, but it is unclear just how representative that reality was in industrializing towns of the nineteenth century. Whether in rural or urban environments, women

typically ceased working outside the house when they got married, generally between the ages of 23 and 25. Most married women focused on the tasks of everyday existence and considered any wage-earning occupation as secondary, even if their work was essential to family survival.[45] Later in life, as widows, or when husbands became sick, some women would again find themselves seeking employment for wages.[46]

The 1851 Census for Haldimand County provides data on the women who worked to support themselves. Some women in Haldimand County were seamstresses or milliners, some provided accommodation, food and lodging, but the majority of female wage earners, 125 over the entire county, were domestic servants.[47] In the 1850s, in the Thompson home, there were 5 servants, 24 hired girls and 1 servant girl in their employ. In spite of having such data, it is not absolutely clear what it meant to be a servant. As Bruce Curtis has noted, "Because no large-scale census of population can be based on direct physical observations of equivalent bodies in time and space, it is practically necessary to generate and assemble opinions about such things." Thus it was common to solicit certain opinions, usually of the household head.[48] As a result, what women actually did in their daily work was often not a point of consideration for the head of the household or the census taker; hence all that is known is that these women were servants of some kind.

In reality, women worked at a multitude of tasks that often required flexibility and ingenuity. Farm women not only worked their own fields when necessary but often had to hire themselves out as seasonal labourers.[49] Several

factors defined the distinction between servants and labourers. A labourer was hired for a particular job, usually outdoors, on another's property. A servant was at someone's beck and call, usually indoors; to do whatever tasks of personal service might be commanded.[50] The occupation of servant was also fundamentally defined along gender lines. In Indiana, the servants hired by the Thompsons were clearly paid accordingly. The lowest male wage was paid to a hired boy in the Thompson household; he received $10 per month.[51] The lowest paid female servant, a nurse, earned $2.50 per month.[52] Such a discrepancy in wages between a hired boy and a nurse speaks not to skill levels but to the perceived value of work by each gender.

By 1871, nearly 40,000 women were listed as servants on the Census. It cannot go unremarked that the category of servant was one of the few occupations for which gender was stated in the census: Only a handful of the 130 different occupations stated or implied the sex in the published report.[53] Generally, the unpaid labour of women and girls in the home, on the farm, and in the family shop was not enumerated. In fact, only one in every six to seven businesses reported any female labour.[54] Further, only one in every 40 women and girls aged between 11 and 70 years was recorded as working in an industrial establishment.[55] Perhaps not surprisingly, then, in the 1871 census, fewer women than men described themselves as having an occupation. It has been suggested that the reasons for this difference lay in social and economic factors that did not impinge on men but profoundly affected women, such as marital status, household responsibilities, household size and structure, number and

ages of children, and lack of capital. Moreover, in rural environments, customs, mores and practice were less hospitable to an independent occupational identity for women.[56] The same cannot be said for men, for whom "simply being a man was sufficient." [57]

It is clear that those who designed the census questions held certain assumptions about the work of women and children, which therefore affected the quality and nature of the information gathered. Census tabulators were known to suppress occupational designations reported by particular kinds of people if the observation did not conform to pre-established views of social relations and census form categories.[58] Thus, the census required that established norms be used to compare different groups. Prior to the 1860s, neither a unifying political nor administrative norm existed.[59] As a contemporary stated, regarding the under reporting of women and children in the industrial census of the United States, "With women and children the assumption is, as the fact generally is, that they are not engaged in remunerative employments. Those who are so engaged constitute the exception".[60]

It is obvious that enumerators differed in how thoroughly they reported the occupations of women but how much they differed in their gender bias is illustrated by comparing the manuscript census with the nominal and industrial schedules for the villages of Hespeler and Almonte in Ontario. Both villages had at least one woolen mill. In the industrial census schedules the number of female employees who worked in the mills was listed as 129 in Hespeler and 203 in Almonte. Yet, on the nominal census schedules for Hespeler only two women are

reported as working and they were listed as shop workers, whereas, none of the women who worked in the mill was listed at all. On the other hand, the enumerator in Almonte recorded various kinds of households where women had "definite occupations" and almost all of the women who worked in factories were accounted for.[61]

What exactly did the census enumerators list, then, as industrial occupations for women? When female workers were distinguished from males, it is clear that females were associated with certain kinds of workplaces. According to the recorded census information for 1871, women and girls were most active in making clothing of all kinds. Three of every four employees were women or girls and clothing industries accounted for 43 percent of all female industrial workers in Canada. The next largest groups of female workers were employed in the textile and leather-working industries. In these sectors, however, female workers were less dominant. Slightly less than half of all textile workers and only one-quarter of all leather workers were women. The third largest group of women listed as employees in the 1871 census were those engaged in the food and drink industries.[62]

Obvious in the 1871 census records is that the leather-working industries present a "distinctive pattern of sex composition in the workforce". Men and boys dominated in the tanning, saddlery, harness-making and shoemaking industries.[63] Women and girls were employed in larger shoemaking factories to run the machines used in the mass production of footwear. A small number of women were also engaged in the manufacture of gloves and other miscellaneous

leather goods.[64] It is clear from the historical documentation that there were women engaged in manufacturing of various kinds. Given the fact that enumerators were selective in their reporting methods, it is not a huge leap of logic to assume that the number of women *actually* engaged in small-scale manufacturing in Canada was significantly higher than reported in the Census.

In Indiana, the reported occupations available to women included those associated with needlework, such as dressmakers and milliners, 9 in total; and those associated with households, 4 governesses, 7 cooks and 14 nurses, most of whom worked for the Thompson family. The majority of the working women in Indiana were domestic servants: there were 7 housemaids, 28 hired girls, lessor girls or servant girls[65] and 43 servants. Apart from those engaged in household-related jobs, 6 women were farmers, 11 were teachers and 19 were labourers.[66] A breakdown of the female labourers per decade shows that one woman worked as a labourer in the 1830s, 4 in the 1850s and 14 in the 1860s. These women presumably worked in the mills and industries in Indiana. The Kirkland Distillery had one female employee and Thomas Lester's pail mill employed two females, according to the 1861 census. In neither case is a description of the female worker's labour available.

Bettina Bradbury studied families in Montreal during the nineteenth century when industrialization was affecting the work and everyday lives of the working class. She was interested in how much wage labour influenced family relations as families adjusted to enormous change in the family economy. Although Indiana was much smaller than Montreal, direct correlations can be

drawn between Bradbury's findings and those for this small industrializing town. Wages were the basis of survival for most Indiana residents, which translated to a disparity in basic standards of living, including differences in housing (shanties or houses in town and renting or ownership), educational opportunities (children who could attend school or children who had to earn wages) and family economic strategies that involved most members working in some capacity, even the children. The Barry family provides a good example of this. Alexander Barry was a farmer on the Brown Tract, just outside of Indiana, but he was also a labourer and teamster for Thompson II in the 1860s. His wife Ellen was the proprietor of the Royal Oak Inn, which took in boarders. The establishment also contained a tavern. She likely worked long hours in her various economic and social roles, perhaps causing conflicts between her home and work responsibilities.

The Barrys' son, George, who was 5 years old, also went out to work.[67] He was listed as a labourer on the 1861 census but it is unknown what work he engaged in. George also worked for Thompson II as a labourer between the ages of 12 and 15.[68] The Barrys' other son, Alexander Junior, was 7 years old when he was first listed as a farmer in the 1861 Census. In the 1870s, another son, John, worked as a labourer while in his mid-teens; he also likely worked as a farmer when necessary, to help his father.[69] Children who lived on farms were a problem for census takers: some listed them as farmers, some as labourers and others not at all. It is possible that neither George nor John worked as farmers, but, considering that child labour was a family necessity, it is more likely

that all family members, even those of tender age, worked to contribute to the family economy. The Barry daughters, Elizabeth and Ellen, probably went into service at the hotel at fairly early ages, but the available documents about the Barry family are silent on that issue. However, Ellen was listed as a servant in the 1871 census when she was 19 years old. Had the Barry's been forced to rely on the income from the male breadwinner alone, it is doubtful that they could have made enough to sustain their family: why else would they involve their young children in manual labour?

The Barrys do not constitute the only example of family economic strategies that relied on financial assistance from all members. The Greenman family, in Indiana between 1859 and 1869, were all labourers for the Thompsons. The household head, Cornelius Greenman, earned 75 cents per day. His wife was a servant for the Thompsons between 1861 and 1864 and her wages are unknown.[70] Together they had four sons, all of whom worked for the Thompsons: Arthur was a gardener who earned the highest salary, at 83 cents per day. James, Robert and William were labourers like their father, also earning 75 cents per day.[71] It is unlikely that, had they been able to make ends meet, Mrs. Greenman would have had to work as a servant, unless the family economic strategy included everyone working so that, collectively, they could save money to purchase property.[72] In keeping with their financial situation, it is assumed the Greenman family lived together as part of family survival. The only time that it can be shown not to be the case was a brief period in 1862 when James

Greenman was paid by Thompson II to live in a shanty while working as a packer.[73]

Like those studied in Montreal by Bradbury, many individuals in Indiana lived in family units even when parents were not present. In the 1861 census, for example a boy of 12 named William Alviss was listed as having "3 brothers, no parents."[74] In a separate example, three sisters, Margaret, Isabelle and Matilda Monaghan, lived together in the 1850s before Matilda got married.[75] The other two sisters continued to live together and eventually purchased lot 36 in Indiana from Alexander Kinnear in 1873.[76] In other instances, families lived together in order to care for an aging parent: Samuel Cooper was 70 years old, "colored" and lived with his son Henry; George Duncan was also 70 years old, "African" and lived with his son Charles.[77]

At this point it is appropriate to consider when married women could have been relied upon as wage earners in a community. The key to answering this question lies in the compatibility of childcare with labour demands. Alice Kessler-Harris argues that jobs regularly assigned to married women had to be carefully chosen to be harmonious with child rearing and household duties.[78] Furthermore, as Elizabeth Wayland Barber notes, the jobs could not require close concentration, but had to be easily interruptible and then easily resumed.[79] In spite of those possible criteria for working married women, it appears that the custom in Indiana was not to have married women out working for wages. Women like Ellen Barry and Mrs. C. Greenman were definitely in the minority.

As noted in Chapter 2, the largest occupational category for women was "none specified"; however, that did not mean that women were not working for remuneration in some form or another. There are many examples showing that the Thompsons purchased agricultural products from women in the community. The availability of these goods grew out of women's work in producing products for their own family consumption. The extent to which they were able to engage in market-oriented activities was dependent on the nature of local markets, transportation and on the labour requirements and needs within the family economy.[80] In October 1859, the Thompsons purchased chickens from Miss Cook and Mrs. Nelson.[81] The same year they purchased chickens and ducks from widow Catherine Loftus.[82] In 1861, Mrs. Thomas Finlen sold chickens to the Thompsons, as did Ellen Long.[83] In 1864, Mrs. Thomas Cahill (Mary) sold turkeys and butter to the Thompsons.[84] Many women also took on specific jobs of short duration. Margaret Fenton, for example, was paid by Thompson II to clean the office in Indiana.[85] Mrs. Ann McKay was paid to clean the schoolhouse at different points in 1860 and 1862. Ann McKay was also paid "for scrubbing store" in 1860.[86] Such limited or occasional forms of employment for women and children meant that they were dependent on their male breadwinners for support and financial care. The most obvious reason for this is the enormous difference in wages paid to men and women in Indiana, as well as the occupational opportunities open to each sex.[87]

The nature of women's dependence was most grievously exposed when a husband failed to provide, deserted his family, or died. Because of the transience

of Indiana residents, it is difficult to determine how many men failed to provide for their families, thereby creating a situation where they were forced to move. Neither Joseph Appleton nor James Overholt, men classified as paupers, was married, so their desertion of Indiana, with bills left unpaid, did not affect wives or children.[88] The only known example of a man who temporarily deserted his family was Thomas Slaven, a merchant who reportedly mismanaged his store and fled.[89] He left his wife Ellen and their children in Indiana in 1871. He returned in 1872 after a "wild goose chase," but in the meantime Ellen had to go back to teaching school to support her family.[90] It must have been extremely difficult for her to face the inevitable gossip surrounding her husband in such a small town, particularly as a married woman and mother who had to seek employment because of desertion.[91]

Desertion was certainly a problem for women and children, but being widowed carried other challenges of daily survival. Due to the difficulty in making ends meet alone, given the restricted wage-earning opportunities for women and the fact of childcare needs, in some cases, remarriage was the most attractive solution. Permilla Bennett was widowed in 1832; by 1835 she had married Mr. Welsh of Indiana.[92] In many cases, however, widows had to rely on the charity of others. After Andrew Grant died, his widow was unable to pay his debts and Thompson II settled the debts personally.[93] As mentioned in Chapter 1, Thompson II made it a regular habit to give large sacks of flour, and sometimes meat, to the widows in the town at Christmas.[94] Apart from such acts of charity, these women had to rely on their own ability to work for wages, often to assist in

family care in other people's homes. Still another option was the widows' recourse to family and friends to take them in. Sarah Coulter (Coulthard) attempted to support herself by working as a washer woman both before and after her husband died, but by 1881, she was 86 years old and no longer able to support herself. She was taken in by Alex Barry's family.[95] In another case, Julia Leroy moved in with Elizabeth Robins after both their husbands died; they shared accommodations, as well as care for their children.[96] Widows had to do whatever was necessary to make ends meet. Margaret O'Neil rented her house to "colored folks that is working on the dam", a decision that reportedly got tongues wagging in Indiana.[97] Perhaps more common for widows on the farm, Sarah Pettigrew hired men to do the farming after her husband died.[98]

In the end, women's waged labour in the nineteenth century was largely, though never exclusively, performed by women prior to marriage or by those who never married, had sick or incapacitated husbands, were deserted, or became widows. Domestic labour could be performed by all women at all stages of the life cycle, but it remained the primary responsibility of working-class wives and widows.[99] In regard to Mrs. Shipway and why she declared herself a tavern keeper and a local sponsor of the sidewalk construction, there is little doubt that this working-class wife was trying to feed her family and also publicizing her interest in the community in order to show herself to be a respectable female citizen. It is an old form of "soft-sell advertising" and it probably brought her a loyal clientele as she remained in Indiana until 1907, at which time she sold lot 62.[100]

iii. Ethnicity and Racialization: The Irish Catholics

Just as the gesture or facial expression can facilitate communication, the subjectively defined distinctions of age or skin colour can shape the specific character of power relations. Social distinctions correspond to age, gender, kinship, marital status, procreative status, physical attributes, wealth, knowledge, and likely operate along many other lines not yet conceptualized.[101] Racialization is a process that seeks to define and compartmentalize the human community primarily on the basis of outward characteristics. As archaeologist Charles Orser points out, "Individuals intent on racializing others have felt justified in using physical appearance, cultural practice, religious belief, and many other attributes as their defining variables." This process of racialization is based on social ranking as part of its construction of inequality. It is an ongoing process that creates a "racially meaningful social relationship" where one previously did not exist. The development of this new relationship permits some individuals to be classified as 'other' and to be held in contempt by the collective members of the defining group.[102]

At its most basic, race is a label imposed from outside by people who classify themselves as non-members of a racial group. In contrast, ethnic affiliation is self-imposed from the inside, and is based on a commonality of perceived or real differences or affiliations.[103] Race and ethnicity thus have different histories, and racial categorization has a distinct association with relations of power and control. In Indiana, there were clear indicators of power

differentials, not only in the wages and status accorded to women but also in the racialization of the Irish, the Black and the Aboriginal communities.

As noted in Chapter 3, the history being preserved and remembered at Ruthven and in the surrounding area did not include the predominantly Irish Catholic cemetery for most of the last 150 years. One reason for this, as Orser argues was the case in the United States during the nineteenth century, lies in the tendency of the "elites" to place the Irish on the "non-white side of the ...colour line."[104] Thus, in spite of the fact that the Irish were Caucasian, the correlation of the Irish with the Black population spoke to more than poverty and degradation, "it stressed the linkage between social position and perceived race and in an unmistakable manner relegated those of the inferior race to the lowest social-structural positions."[105] As part of the racial mythology of the period, it was said that when Irish men and women were sent to the Caribbean as workers, they would actually turn Black through their association with Africans.[106] In a similar vein, it was not uncommon for prominent English-language newspapers to publish images that portrayed the Irish as having simian features at a time when peoples of African descent were regularly equated with apes and monkeys.[107] When the so-called famine Irish entered North America, some were initially assigned non-white status because of their perceived backward customs and beliefs. Some Americans used racially-charged language founded on anti-Black bigotry to identify the Irish as "niggers turned inside out". African Americans were similarly labeled "smoked Irish."[108] North Americans were socialized to perceive

the Irish as a large, undifferentiated mass of unwashed, "uncombed peasants" dedicated to following the Pope and worshipping idols.[109]

In the autumn of 1847, the chief emigration agent for Canada West noted that three-quarters of the immigrants in that year were Irish, "diseased in body and belonging generally to the lowest class of unskilled laborers". And in 1931 Gilbert Tucker employed an oft-quoted phrase in the pages of the *American Historical Review* in reference to the Irish: "during that baleful year, 1847, there poured into Canada the most polluted as well as relatively the most swollen stream of immigration in the history of that country." As Donald Akenson has demonstrated, however, the Irish who emigrated during the Famine were not, by and large, the decimated paupers of the poorest regions of Ireland.[110] The high cost and long duration of traveling to North America during the nineteenth century meant that emigration appealed mostly to those with sufficient resources to undertake the move. They came from the more economically secure commercial farming classes.[111] Moreover, we now know that the majority of the Irish immigrants in mid-century Canada arrived *prior* to the Famine and were Protestant and rural-based.[112] As noted in Chapter 2, however, in Indiana the majority of the Irish arrived after the famine and they were predominantly Catholic labourers.

Although the Irish Catholics were not a *visible* minority in Indiana, there is little doubt that there was an established hierarchy of cultural and religious differences in the town. This can be readily discerned from the hiring patterns of the Thompsons. Both Thompsons hired Protestant men for positions of authority.

For example, Richard Brown, a Scotland-born Presbyterian, was the elder Thompson's clerk from 1836 to 1850. Thompson II employed Thomas Oxley, an Anglican, from 1870 to 1874, and John Hudson, a Methodist, was hired at Ruthven Mill as his clerk between 1870 and 1876. Alexander Macduff, his personal clerk and committed correspondent, who worked for Thompson between 1877 and 1881, was a Presbyterian Scot. The Thompsons also hired two men in the position of bookkeeper: the first, in the 1850s, was John Craigie, a Presbyterian, like the second, Alexander Kinnear, who worked for Thompson II between 1860 and 1879. Similarly, the vital position of miller in the Thompson Grist Mill was always filled by a Presbyterian, Anglican or Methodist: George H. Comer, William Tait, Moore Hill, William F. Moore and John Woolaway. Millers, bookkeepers and clerks were the highest wage earners in Indiana.

For female employees, both Thompson men primarily hired women who were Presbyterians for the jobs that were valued and physically close to their families, such as those of governesses, nurses, housemaids and head cooks. The same was true for male servants who would have close contact with the Thompsons in their home, such as the coachman and head gardeners. Not one of the millers, head gardeners, coachmen, personal clerks, accountants, governesses, head cooks or nurses for whom a religious affiliation is known was Roman Catholic, Black, Irish or Indian. On the other hand, of those with known religions, the hired girls at Ruthven Mansion were without exception Irish Roman Catholic.[113] This evidence supports the argument that the Irish Catholics were racialized in Indiana.

Caricatures of groups such as the Irish Catholics were sufficiently resilient, and repeated, that they assumed the status of reality.[114] Indeed, there are numerous examples of individuals making fun of the Irish Catholics in Indiana. As described in Chapter 3, in letters written to David Thompson, Alexander Macduff related stories and passed comments on life in Deans that often mocked the Irish residents for their accents and their Catholicism.[115] In one letter, he wrote that one of Thompson's tenants had died, a Mrs. Walsh, and that Thompson's son attend the funeral "as she was a tenant and a Catholic..."It will please some of her c------ friends."[116] Integral to preconceived notions about the Irish was the image of "Biddy", the bumbling, incurably stupid Irish servant girl. This image became a staple of nineteenth-century American humour in all forms of media, as well as in song and on the stage.[117] Thus it is likely that an insult was intended towards Bridget Stack, an Irish hired girl, and later a labourer, who worked for Thompson II and always had the name "Biddy", with quotation marks around it, written after her name in the account books. Was that a slur against Bridget, a private joke between the accountants and Thompson II, or merely a nickname? No matter what the explanation, there is historical context for understanding what the name "Biddy" might well have implied about Bridget.

In addition to such negative characteristics attributed to Irish servant girls, the print media also depicted the Irish as 'wild'.[118] The values and practices of the Irish Catholics were ridiculed and they were characterized as thieves who stole from their employers. In the widely circulated *Gazetteer* of 1867 for Haldimand County, a report about the Irish workers on the canals declared that they

"supplemented their income by stealing. Even the materials used to build their rough shanties – scrap logs and lumber from the canal project – were scavenged."[119] Thus, Irish Catholic labourers on the canals in the 1830s and 1840s were depicted as exemplifying the stereotype of the Irishman as "irrational, emotionally unstable, and lacking in self control".[120] Contemporaries in Upper Canada described the Irish as "careless, improvident, dirty, disorderly and arrogant." John MacTaggart, a British immigrant, who worked on the Rideau Canal with Irish labourers, wrote that, 'You cannot get the low Irish to wash their faces, even were you to lay before them ewers of crystal water and scented soap; you cannot get them to dress decently, although you supply them with ready-made clothes; they will smoke, drink, eat murphies, brawl, box and set the house on fire about their ears even though you had a sentinel standing over them."[121]

As a group, the Irish Catholics were seen to cluster around construction sites in Irish communities where they engaged in violent confrontations with each other, local inhabitants, employers and law enforcement agencies. Observers of these confrontations accepted as self-evident the stereotype of violent Paddy, who opposed Anglo-Saxon norms of "rational behaviour". Government reports, private letters, and newspaper articles alike characterized the canalers as "persons predisposed to tumult even without cause." Yet men attempting to control disturbances along the canals perceived an economic basis to these disturbances which directly challenged ethnocentric interpretations of the canalers' behaviour. If most saw it as confirmation of preconceived notions

about the dirty, irrational Irish, these few men saw the violence as a rational response to difficult economic conditions in the new world. [122]

Turning to a different type of evidence to understand the racialization of the Irish, the census takers' notations make it clear that there were instances when enumerators simply guessed, or perhaps made up, answers about the Irish. For example, as Orser notes, the ages reported for a young Irishman named Daniel Callaghan are particularly telling about the place of the Irish in the American census. In the 1850 census, he was listed as 6 years old; in 1860, he was listed as 11 years old; in 1870 his age was recorded as 20. If he was indeed 6 in 1850, he should have been 26 in 1870. While it might be argued that these were merely errors and not intended to target particular groups, Orser points out that German immigrants in the same area were correctly listed in the census documents.[123] To Orser, the census errors constitute blatant racialization of the Irish.

That same pattern of careless notation, error, and obvious discrepancy was noted over and over again in the various census documents related to Indiana. Assuming, for argument's sake, that the first age recorded for each individual is correct, and that is a huge assumption, I have inserted a corrected age for each person, in brackets, after the last year they were enumerated. So, for example, David Broderick, an Irish Catholic labourer, was listed as 35 in 1861, 57 in 1871 and 63 in 1881 (55). John Cassida, an Irish Catholic farmer, was listed as 24 in 1861, 40 in 1881 and 45 in 1891 (54). Margaret Dougherty, an Irish Catholic, was listed as 12 in 1861 and 16 in 1871 (22); similarly, her sister

Mary Dougherty was listed as 14 in 1861 and 17 in 1871 (24). Finally, although that is by no means the entire list, Johana O'Neil, an Irish Catholic, was listed as 3 in 1861 and 17 in 1871 (13). Even allowing for the fact that in some census years the enumerators might have made their notations before or after the individual's birthday, thereby making the age incorrect by a year or two, such speculation does not answer why the enumerators were so wrong about the Irish Catholics in Indiana. To be fair, while it may have been blatant racialization, it may also have had to do with any of a number of other issues such as the person enumerated, presumably the male head of the household, not knowing when an individual was born and therefore not being able to keep an invented birth date in his head from one census year to the next; the same person was uneducated and not able to count; again the same person wanted to have a public record that a marriageable daughter was a desirable age; and also not wanting a potential employer to think he was too old or too young to be hired.

It is clearly problematic to depict all the Irish in Indiana as "the same", or even essentially similar, something that their denigrators were all too keen to do. There were too many possible differences even within the relatively small community, including those between Catholic and Protestant, shantytown and homeowner, labourer and boss, immigrant and naturalized and farmer and labourer. Additionally, there was clear bias in the early nineteenth century against those who were canal workers. The literature of the day characterized them as irrational, innately criminal types who brought to the new world a "willingness to defy the law."[124] But no matter the labels or perceptions about the Irish,

particularly the Irish Catholics, there is little doubt that they were racialized in Indiana as elsewhere in Upper Canada.

iv. The Black, "African" or "Colored" Population of Indiana

During the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in the decades before the American Civil War (1860-1865), Upper Canada, specifically the southwestern part of the province, became the final terminus of the Underground Railway for thousands of American Blacks. The Indiana Road was the first road from Niagara to the Grand River.[125] Some of those in transit stayed in what became known as "The Brown Tract", located on the first Concession, just outside Indiana.[126] The first "colored" men or "darkies" were recorded in Indiana in the 1830s: ten men were listed as labourers and one was listed as a fiddler.[127] Generally men outnumbered women, but families also arrived. This migration included ex-slaves, freed men and women, working-class people, farmers and professionals.[128] In fact, only one out of five Upper Canadians of African-American descent was an escaped slave.[129] By the time the 1851 Census was taken, there were 237 "colored" people living in Haldimand County, most of whom were living in North Cayuga and Moulton townships.[130]

White people, of supposed Anglo-Saxon descent, considered themselves to be at the top of a racial hierarchy that placed those of African descent at the bottom. Various evolving "scientific" theories supported measuring bodies as a means of measuring qualities. Distinguishing the quality of people became an obsession of philosophers, judges, clerics, and scientists. Quality was marked

not only by skin colour, but also by the ability to participate in the practices of the supposedly superior members of society. As archaeologist Robert Paynter describes, "Competencies in choice, taste and performance were all hallmarks of being a person of quality. And this judgement of quality, along with phenotype, came to be merged as measures of racial identity."[131]

Whites relegated Blacks to low status, and in so doing they portrayed them as culturally backward, primitive, intellectually stunted, prone to violence, morally corrupt, undeserving of the benefits of civilization, insensitive to the finer arts and, in the case of Africans, aesthetically ugly and animal-like.[132] Such a depiction is similar to Orser's description of how the Irish were perceived. In a letter from Dr. Heartwell of Dunnville to David Thompson of Deans, 27 January 1883, Heartwell reported, regarding the fate of the building he rented from Thompson that "The barn and almost everything burnable has been carried off by the darkies".[133] In another letter, this time from Wills Murdoch to David Thompson, however, Murdoch actually wrote about the Black community in a more positive way: "Mrs. O'Neil's house is rented to a lot of coloured folks that is working on the dam so you see by this that Deans is increasing."[134]

In various historic documents associated with Indiana, the Black population was referred to in a variety of ways. Initially the most common terms were either "colored" or "darky" ("darkie") but the latter term was almost exclusively limited to the earliest years in Indiana, between 1839 and 1844.[135] By mid-century, almost all census documents refer to this community as "African". However, from the 1830s to the 1870s, the notations made on the Thompson

business documents read either "colored man", "colored woman", "colored boy" or "colored girl".[136] In the main Thompson business journal of the 1870s, there is a notation that Peter and William Hutty rented pasturage to "a nigger fella".[137] Looking at the Black population in Ontario, Peter Baskerville quoted an "informed observer" as remarking that "As long as the colored people form a very small proportion of the population, and are dependent, they receive protection and favours; but when they increase and compete with the labouring class for a living and especially when they begin to aspire to social equality, they cease to be 'interesting negroes', and become 'niggers'."[138] Such a conclusion sheds a different light on the notation about a "nigger" in the Thompson journal. By the 1891 Census, Charles Duncan was referred to as a "negro".

Not surprisingly, there is not much known about the Black population in Indiana. As a group they did not leave behind historic documents detailing their own experiences and they were generally not visible at community events except as workers or fiddlers. As such, it is extremely difficult to uncover the lives of these individuals who represented two percent of the overall population.[139] Nonetheless, I have been able to piece together a short biography of one of the more prominent members of the Black community that existed in and around Indiana during this time.

Charles Duncan was an African American who did not actually reside in the town of Indiana, but rather on Indiana Road to the east of the town, in the Brown Tract. Specifically, he lived on Concession 1, on the north half lot of 21.[140] Duncan first showed up in historical documents on the 1851 census as a

labourer. He was listed as 25 years of age and 'colored'. His wife was named Latecia and together they had seven children, Mary, Edward, George, Charles, James, Clara and Thomas.[141] Duncan's own father, George, in later years, lived with his family.[142] Of all the people in the Black community around Indiana, I know the most about Charles for two reasons. First, he had interactions with Thompson II in various capacities over his entire time in Indiana. His primary connection to Thompson was when he worked as a labourer. In Thompson's account books, Charles Duncan was frequently referred to as a "colored man".[143] It always surprised me that such identifiers were felt to be necessary in account books. Duncan also obtained a loan from Thompson II in 1872.[144] He is the only "colored" man to have done so, according to the account books, which suggests that Thompson II trusted him enough to take an unusual step in his regard. Duncan also purchased flour from Ruthven Mill between 1870 and 1872.[145] Finally, his name was on the 1886 "Voters List" for Seneca Township, Haldimand County, found in the Thompson Papers at Ruthven Park.[146]

Three historical sources help to fill in some of the biographical details about Charles Duncan that are only rarely available for Black individuals. The various census records supplied the names of his wife and children, as well as their ages. The second source is a recounting of the story of one African Methodist Episcopal Church by local historian, Mary Nelles. In that account Nelles wrote that the African Methodist church was on Duncan's farm and that the cemetery was across the road.[147] A centennial history prepared for the Township of Seneca divulged that Duncan helped with the Underground Railroad

when he lived in Niagara, before coming to the Indiana area.[148] The last record I have of Charles is the 1891 census, which recorded that he was 69 years old at that time and classified him as "negro".

Finally, one of the strangest yet revealing aspects of the Black community's history in Indiana was found in Ruthven Mansion itself, where there are three different pieces of artwork that picture Black individuals. The first is a sepia-toned sketch that has a Black man kneeling over a fire cooking with two White men standing to one side of the worker. What makes this picture particularly revealing is that the two White men are doing things related to personal care: one man is shaving and the other is eating the food being

Figure 5A: Undated, unsigned print, Ruthven Mansion

prepared by the Black man. Off to one side, in the distance, are two other Black individuals, a woman carrying a load of wood, presumably for the cooking fire, and a man carrying wood and possibly suitcases. The message is that the Black individuals were working hard to serve the White men in their personal, even intimate needs.

The second piece of artwork is a drawing of a young Black boy smoking a cigar. The boy is pictured sitting beside a dog. The boy looks mischievous, his clothes are tattered, and the knees of his pants are ripped. The boy also has

what looks like a very fancy turban on his head and a jacket that resembles a uniform, yet the general state of his attire suggests hard labour, perhaps on his knees. The artist of this piece was Mrs. L.M. Spencer, the American artist Lilly Martin Spencer (1822-1902). She painted this picture, titled "Power of Fashion", in 1851; it was reproduced as a lithograph by Jean-Baptiste Adolphe LaFosse in 1853, in New York.[149] What made this artist particularly noteworthy is that she tended to paint sentimental, domestic scenes that were genteel and happy, often featuring children who are clearly idealized, a type of decorative art that was very popular among the Victorian middle class. This child, however, was clearly

Figure 5B: The Power of Fashion, by L.M. Spencer, 1851

represented as a "working man" despite his tender age, likely reflecting the less than ideal reality for many Black children. Spencer painted her most famous works between 1848 and 1858.[150] This particular painting was stored in the attic at Ruthven, which suggests that whatever its original appeal, the family no longer

felt inclined to display this piece of art; given its date of production, it is probable that the picture belonged to Thompson II and his wife Elizabeth.

The third piece of art is a bronze sculpture of a Black man, perched on a piece of furniture, holding what looks like a shoe brush, but leaning toward a young Black girl with an open book. It appears that she is reading to him or asking him a question about the book. A young Black boy is seated beneath the man, with his back to the piece of furniture, but he appears to be paying attention to whatever they are saying. This piece of artwork is titled "Uncle Ned's School". The artist was John Rogers and it was first produced in 1866. It initially sold for $15. According to art historian David H. Wallace, the piece was "Hailed as a powerful commentary on the freed Negro's determination to educate himself and improve his lot by his own efforts."[151] The fact that the Thompsons bought and

Figure 5C: Uncle Ned's School, by John Rogers, date unknown

displayed this particular piece, as well as the more sentimentalized and racialized representations in the two paintings, suggests that they held notions about race that were fairly typical of those of the educated Victorian middle class: at once accepting theories about Black inferiority and justifying their lowly status as

servants, for example, and yet also displaying a certain progressive belief in their ultimate "up-lifting" by means of education. It is impossible to know exactly when these pieces of artwork were purchased by the Thompsons, but it seems likely that the bronze sculpture, and the "Power of Fashion" painting, were bought during the years that David Thompson II was alive and residing at Ruthven. The selection of these particular pieces suggests that the Thompsons were at least interested in the Blacks and their experiences.

v. The Aboriginal Community:

While it has been difficult to locate the Irish and Black members of Indiana society, it was almost impossible to uncover the experiences of the area's Native population in the historic documents related to the Thompsons. This was particularly surprising because the Thompson Church stood "very near the ruins of what was a large temple for Indian worship of the Great Spirit."[152] This temple, the Long House, was pictured on a plan of the Grand River in 1828. Beside it was a notation that this was the place where "Delaware and Cayuga Councils are held and sacrifices offered."[153] Obviously, the land was very important, even sacred, to the local Native population, thus it is even more surprising that they were a difficult group to uncover.

In 1835, Thomas Rolph, who was doing a statistical survey of Upper Canada, reported that Indiana was "still the residence of many Indians," which may explain the name of the town.[154] When the earliest known census of the Cayuga nation was taken in 1843, 114 Upper Cayuga and 287 Lower Cayuga

Indians were counted.[155] By 1845, William R. Sutherland, an itinerant Presbyterian minister, expressed a decidedly negative judgment about the original inhabitants of Indiana and their alleged influence on the town's character: "This tract of country was, some years ago, in possession of the Six Nations (Indian tribes) and although now occupied by another race of men of different color, it may still be regarded as overshadowed with the thick darkness of spiritual heathenism."[156] Returning to the 1851 report that first mentioned the Indian temple, the author observed that, already by that time, the "Indians are less numerous now in this region. They associate little with any but their own nations."[157] Perhaps one of the reasons for the general lack of interest in the Native population around Indiana was that they, understandably, kept themselves separate from the White population. According to Terry Crowley, the Whites found it difficult to interact with the Indians, who formed a "distinct culture" while "living separately" amongst them. Such chosen segregation created what Crowley calls an "immense gulf" between them and the White settler population that also fuelled prejudice and fear.[158] Another explanation for the separateness is found in the 1869 "Act for Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians, the Better Management of Indian Affairs", after which Indians were generally indisposed to recognizing the White man's law.[159] The Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs subsequently referred to the Cayuga leaders as "Cayuga Pagan Chiefs".[160]

The Natives in and around Indiana were also treated to a particular brand of racism. Just as Blacks were invariably identified by colour in documents,

Natives also had the identifying label of "Indian" or "Mohawk" beside their names on all documents. It cannot be emphasized how seldom the Indian population was otherwise mentioned, thus this label was often unexpected in business documents. The Native population was ignored and even denied in other ways. For instance, Indians were not considered important enough by census takers to learn their names and record them accurately. In the 1851 census, all three of George Monture's (Montague) female children were merely listed as "Monture girl." This contrasts with the treatment accorded to White women of Indiana who, even if their names were not always listed in full, were still referred to as *Miss* Craigie or *Miss* Fuller, for example. [161]

The Monture (Monteur) family was still living in the area in 1866 because Joseph, George and James, all of whom were listed as Chiefs, signed a petition to David Thompson, then serving as a member of the provincial legislature, asking for clarification in regard to moneys paid to their representative in the Indian Department, a Mr. Gilkinson. They were concerned that the money was not reaching the appropriate hands.[162] Thompson eventually brought a motion before the House to obtain information on the issue, only to receive a letter from Gilkinson himself repudiating the "Deputation and its acts as presumption and impertinence."[163] Clearly Gilkinson shared the general view that Indians were inferior and therefore impertinent when they dared question a White man in a position of authority about the use of their own money.

In setting about to achieve his plans for Indiana Thompson I purchased Native lands in and around the town, sometimes from "chiefs" of native groups.

For instance, George Montour, who was head chief of the Cayuga Indians,[164] together with his father Joseph Montour, sold their "improvements, on 27 September 1841, on land "embracing a field between the long house and Grand River, and also said long house".[165] John Slink was listed as Cayuga Chief in two quit claim deeds when Thompson I purchased Slink's Island from him.[166] Similarly, Peter Fishcarrier, son of a Cayuga chief, signed quit claim deeds in 1842.[167] John Warner, who was in Indiana between 1836 and 1842, signed a quit claim deed in the vicinity of Cayuga Longhouse, in 1842.[168] These land purchases were the only significant references to Indians in the Thompson journals and those references ceased by 1844. They were thereafter listed as "Indians" or ignored entirely.

In addition to the scant references to the "Indians" in the Thompson business documents, a few other locals mentioned them briefly in their own journals, helping to shed some light the Indians were viewed. The Reverend Bold Cudmore Hill wrote, on 14 October 1840, that most of the waterside settlements on Indian reserves had been privately purchased from the Indians by individual settlers. Two years later, on 12 January 1842, he noted that, during the previous summer, the Indian chiefs of the Six Nations had agreed to allow their "waste lands" to be sold by the government for White settlement. And on 15 August 1843 he rejoiced that proper drainage had "diminished the fever, and cornfields replace the Indians' waste land."[169]

The lack of evidence regarding women, the Irish, the Blacks and Natives in and around Indiana lends support to the idea that they were considered unimportant to those who recorded the on-going affairs of the town, the men employed as bookkeepers and clerks, the census enumerators, other government agents, and even the Thompson men themselves. While this is not surprising, such an observation is itself evidence of the marginalization and racialization of these groups of "others". It must be remembered that just as gender was socially constructed, so too were the racial labels ascribed to Blacks and the Irish. Without denying that White people's experience was profoundly gendered as well as class-delimited, scholars recognize that White women, Natives, Blacks and Irish were also racialized.[170] What makes that observation particularly compelling is that, while there is limited information about White women and families in Indiana, there is far more documented about them than there was about the Black population, which was still more than what was written about the Natives. What transpires is a sense that there were levels of status—hence power—starting at the top with White privileged men, then to White, somewhat privileged, women, then downward to Black men, then to Black women, ending with Native men, and beneath them, on the lowest rung, were positioned the Native women. Or, to put it another way, there were concentric circles of status, and sub-categories of the marginalized, all identified, and compounded, by class, race and gender.

Although it would be deeply satisfying to have found out more about the lives of the "hidden" residents of Indiana, what emerges are moments where

family strategies, gendered experiences and racialized populations can be witnessed as individuals as they went about their daily lives. The class aspects were intentionally left out of this particular discussion, except in passing. Class is fundamentally enmeshed in the material culture of life; the next chapter will peel back the layers of evidence to look at class in relation to those who lived on lots 13, 14 and 15 in Indiana by considering the archaeological evidence uncovered on those properties for what it can reveal about this town and its people.

Endnotes

[1] The concept of the hidden producer is examined in: BJ Mills, "Gender and the reorganization of historic Zuni craft production", *Journal of* Anthropology, 51, (1995), 149-172; RP Wright, "Women labor and pottery production in prehistory", *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, (eds.) JM Gero and MW Conkey, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 194-223.

[2] Maria Franklin, "Preface", *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, (eds.) Kerri S. Barile, and Jamie C. Brandon, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), xiv.

[3] Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott, "Introduction", *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, (eds.) Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott, (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1997), 5.

[4] Stephen Frank, *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth Century American North*, (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 7.

[5] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 29.

[6] Davidoff and Hall, 1987, 9; RW Sandwell has also noted that Historians have tended to see women as relegated to non-productive household work and men to the public world of money and politics, both of which resulted in the disempowerment of women. See: RW Sandwell, "The Limits of Liberalism: The Liberal Reconnaissance and the History of the Family in Canada", *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 84, No. 3, (September 2003), 429.

[7] Davidoff and Hall, 1987, 10.

[8] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 5.

[9] Davidoff and Hall, 1987, 9.

[10] Tosh, 1999, 25.

[11] Tosh, 1999, 4.

[12] Tosh, 1999, 5.

[13] Tosh, 1999, 5-6.

[14] Tosh, 1999, 7.

[15] Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 15.

[16] As evidenced by the handwriting in journals and letters, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[17] Like many other men who embraced their roles as patriarchs of their working communities, there are numerous references that point to this attitude from the Thompson perspective. For example, David Thompson I built and maintained a local protestant church for his employees in Indiana, although he himself attended church elsewhere, which directly implies his desire to influence the appropriate "Christian" behaviour of townspeople. Additionally, there are numerous references, in business journals and letters, to his employees being "honourable", and "honest",

but there are even more notations about the dishonest and dishonorable traits of various men under his influence. He was disparaging about those who were not behaving in appropriate ways. Indeed, though David Thompson II was gentler in his language, he was equally determined that the men in his employ should act in prescribed ways as befitted men.

[18] There are numerous references in various disciplines about the concept of paternalism and how that structured behaviour in men in the 19th century. See for example: Mark D. Groover *An Archaeological Study of Rural Capitalism and Material Life: The Gibbs Farmstead in Southern Appalachia, 1790-1920*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003); Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); SJR Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics 1791-1896*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

[19] Most of the people on the list were local merchants, innkeepers, farmers, tradesmen, distillers, Millers and Mill owners. There were 45 initial investors in total. The complete list of names of investors can be found: *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, May 7, 1852, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[20] The activities of the Indiana Bridge Company were well documented in the local newspaper, the *Sachem* – see for example: March 4, 1866; March 8, 1866; March 14, 1866; March 14, 1866 etc. The activities of the company were also available in the "Minute Books of the Indiana Bridge Company", X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[21] The available list of people on the "Sidewalk Subscription List" reads something like a who's-who of Indiana society in 1862 (ten years after the Bridge was built). Indeed, some of the people appear on both lists of investors. For example: David Thompson, John H Rogers, James Stack, Miles Finlen, Robert Young, John Craigie and the Mussen's were all on both lists.

[22] Side Walk Subscription list, TV room, Doc #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[23] Elizabeth M. Scott, "Chapter 1 – Through the Lens of Gender: Archaeology, Inequality, and those 'of little note" *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race and Class in Historical Archaeology*, (ed.) Elizabeth M. Scott, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1994), 11.

[24] As Peggy Barlett has noted that while norms and ideals may have dictated who was supposed to be in the household, the reality was who was actually there could have been very different. Indeed, in the 19th century there could have been multiple versions of the ideal. See: Peggy F Barlett "Introduction: Dimensions and Dilemmas of Householding", (ed.) Richard R Wilk *The Household Economy: Reconsidering the Domestic Mode of Production*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 4.

[25] Donna J Siefert, "Within Site of the White House: The Archaeology of Working Women", *Historical Archaeology*, Volume 25, Number 4, (1991), 1.

[26] Seifert, 1991, 84.

[27] Seifert, 1991, 86.

[28] Diana DiZerega Wall, "Examining Gender, Class and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century New York City", *Historical Archaeology*, Volume 33, Number 1, (1999), 104.

[29] Lou Ann Wurst, "Chapter 8 – The Legacy of Separate Spheres", *Shared Spaces and Divided Places: Material Dimensions of Gender Relations and the American Historical Landscapes,* (eds.)

Deborah L. Rotman and Ellen-Rose Savulis, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003).

[30] Tosh, 1999, 5.

[31] Wurst, 2003, 229; RW Sandwell asks whether women were even trying to step outside of the boxes or dichotomies that historians have put them in during the 19th century. She points out that many historians have made the assumption that women of that time have failed to achieve economic independence, autonomy or a political identity. She suggests that it's possible that those were simply not the goals of women at that time. She argues that historians have made the assumption that given the choice, women of the 19th century would have made the same decisions that 21st century Canadians would. Her conclusion was that historians need to present better evidence that equality and justice were things that these women sought. See: RW Sandwell "The Limits of Liberalism", *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 84, No. 3, (September 2003), 445.

[32] Elizabeth Jane Errington, *and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 22.

[33] Errington, 1995, 24.

[34] Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 229.

[35] Cynthia Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 150.

[36] Joy Parr *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 233.

[37] Parr, 1990, 11.

[38] Parr, 1990, 8.

[39] Parr, 1990, 241-242.

[40] Marjorie Griffin Cohen *Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 9.

[41] Peter A Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada 1815-1840*, Canadian Studies, Volume 6, (Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 103-104.

[42] Bettina Bradbury, "Women's Workplaces: The Impact of Technological Change in Working-Class Women in the Home and in the Workplace in Nineteenth Century Montreal", *Women, Work and Place*, (ed.) Audrey Kobayashi, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 30.

[43] Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 37.

[44] Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1993), 14.

[45] Kris Inwood and Richard Reid, "Gender and Occupational Identity in a Canadian Census", *Historical Methods,* (Guelph: University of Guelph, 2000), 3.

[46] Bradbury, 1994, 31.

[47] There were 4 women who ran boardinghouses in Indiana over the years of this study. They were: Eleanor McKeefer 1833-1838, *General Journal 1831-1837*; Julia Leroy 1856-1860, *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*; Jane Shipway 1858-1875, *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64*; Ellen Barry 1864-1872, General Journal 1870-1877, pp 10, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Cheryl MacDonald, *Haldimand History: The Early Years, 1784-1850*, (Nanticoke: Heronwood Enterprises, 2004), 111.

[48] Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 25.

[49] Errington, 1995, 17.

[50] Russell, 1990, 15-16.

[51] Robert Hewett was paid $10 per month as a hired boy in 1870 and 1871. The wages paid "hired men", "gardeners" and servants in the Thompson employ ranged from $12 per month to $25 per month for a top gardener.

[52] This figure took into consideration all females paid monthly wages in the Thompson employ, including hired girls, lessor girls, nurses and servants. Nurses received the widest range of payment from $2.50 per month, paid to Ellen Hamilton in 1868, to $12 per month paid to Isabella Arnold as a wet nurse in 1877.

[53] These were: dressmakers and milliners, of whom a total of 8,374 were reported in 1871: laundresses (767), midwives (89), nuns (2,907), seamstresses (7,377) and female servants (39,499). See: GT Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops, Mills and Factories: The evidence of the 1871 Census Manuscripts: Research Report 11*, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1991), 56.

[54] The remaining 38,415 establishments employed only men and boys. See: Bloomfield and Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops,* 1991, 11.

[55] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops,* 1991, 24.

[56] Inwood and Reid, 2000, 16.

[57] Inwood and Reid, 2000, 12-13.

[58] Inwood and Reid, 2000, 2.

[59] Curtis, 2001, 12.

[60] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops,* 1991, 56.

[61] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops*, 1991, 17.

[62] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops*, 1991, 34.

[63] Although many authors have discussed the contributions of women to industry, see for example: Mary H Blewett, *We Will Rise in Our Might: Workingwomen's voices from Nineteenth-Century New England*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 23-25.

[64] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, *Canadian Women in Workshops*, 1991, 59.

[65] The use of the word "girl" associated with these occupation labels was intended as "a non-demeaning designation that implied the temporary nature of most such employment before marriage." See: Terry Crowley, "Rural Labour", *Laboring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (ed.) Paul Craven, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 31.

[66] See: *Appendix H: Occupations and Census Categories for Females in Indiana.*

[67] According to Terry Crowley, "Children of poorer families hired out locally from the age of seven or eight to help their families financially." Obviously George was younger than that but it strongly suggests that the Barry family would have labeled themselves as "poor". See: Crowley, 1995, 36.

[68] There are a few references to his working as a laborer. See for example: *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870*; and Check roll, attic pigeonhole 19A, #21C, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[69] Notes from Miller, attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[70] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[71] The Greenman family was mentioned in many places in the Thompson documents. See for example: *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*; *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881*; *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[72] Historical records have not supplied me with her name because the Greenman family was not enumerated in the 1861 Census, even though they were in Indiana at the time, and all other documents referred to her as "Mrs. C. Greenman".

[73] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pp #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[74] 1861 Census for Haldimand County.

[75] Matilda married Peter Martin in 1854 according to: Patrick T Martin, *The Michael G. Martin Family and Its Descendents in North America*, Draft copy, Macomb, Michigan (2007), 9.

[76] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga, 18.

[77] 1851 Census for Haldimand County; 1871 Census for Haldimand County.

[78] Alice Kessler-Harris *Out to Work: A History of Wage Earning Women in the United States*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 30.

[79] Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *Women's Work: The first 20,000 years*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1994), 29.

[80] Cohen, 1888, 154.

[81] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-1864*, pp 44, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[82] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[83] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858*-1864, pp 140; *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[84] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858*-1864, pp 240, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[85] See: *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[86] *Indiana Cash book, 1858-1864,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[87] See *Appendix B: Chart of Occupations for Male Workers in Indiana; Appendix C: Average Wages in Indiana per day, for each decade; Appendix H: Chart of Occupations for Females in Indiana.*

[88] Both men were mentioned in Chapter 3, in the section titled "The Social Scene: Status and Community Standing"; there were certainly many individuals who left Indiana with bills unpaid. In fact, Thompson I was notorious for chasing down those individuals in an attempt to make them pay what he was owed. Thompson had Samuel Heaslip followed for his bills left unpaid. He was found near Lewiston, *General Ledger 1834-49*, pp 4; John Gillam of Lewiston had notes on how to find the house attached to the bad account, *General Ledger 1834-49*, pp 102; Thompson I took Sherman Bristol, a Chippewa, to court and he received full payment, *General Journal 1831-1837*, pp 40; In the *Petty Ledger #4, 1839-1840*, there were 10 men listed as "runaways" that Thompson continued to follow in his account books, adding interest all the while. When Thompson II took over the books from his father's estate, he found that bad debts were being carried from as early as the 1830's. In 1863 he had his clerk write them off as "bad" and "relinquished", for an example of this, see *General Ledger 1834-49*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[89] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 420, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[90] Letter from John Hudson to David Thompson, April 16, 1872, attic pigeonhole 21, #37, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[91] For more on Ellen Slaven, see the *Biographies* in *Appendix A.*

[92] *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[93] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 24, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[94] "List of Contributions and Charities" as found in: *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[95] There were many references to Sarah as a wash woman over the years 1851 to 1881 but it was the 1881 Census that said she was living with the Barry family.

[96] 1881 Census record for Haldimand County.

[97] Letter from Alexander Macduff to Thompson II, attic pigeonhole 27A, #9 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[98] 1891 Census record for Haldimand County.

[99] Bradbury, 1994, 31.

[100] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[101] Tracy L. Sweely, "Introduction", In: *Manifesting Power: Gender and the interpretation of power in archaeology*, ed. Tracy Sweely, (New York: Routledge Press, 1999), 5-6.

[102] Charles E Orser Jr., *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2007), 8-9.

[103] Orser, 2007, 8.

[104] Charles E. Orser, *Race and Practice in Archaeological Interpretation*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 253.

[105] Orser, 2004, 2.

[106] Orser , 2007, 93.

[107] Orser, 2004, 3.

[108] Orser, 2007, 88-89.

[109] Orser, 2007, 120.

[110] Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, 2nd Edition, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 33.

[111] Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960's*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 3.

[112] Catharine Anne Wilson, *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 4-5.

[113] This fact was noted when I generated a table of the wages paid to Indiana workers over the years. For those who were labeled "hired girls" (and for whom their religion was known) were all Roman Catholic.

[114] Paul R Mullins, "Racializing the Parlor: Race and Victorian Bric-a-Brac Consumption", *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, (ed.) Charles E Orser Jr., (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2001), 172.

[115] As noted in Chapter 3, he wrote that Murty Mooney referred to Thompson II as "Mr. Tamson", thereby clearly mocking Mooney's accent. Letter from Alexander Macduff to David Thompson in Ottawa, February 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #38, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[116] Letter from Alexander Macduff to David Thompson in Ottawa, February 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #74, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[117] Orser, 2007, 88.

[118] Orser, 2007, 88.

[119] *Gazetteer and Directory of Haldimand County*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 75.

[120] Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840's", *Canadian Working-Class History: Selected Readings, 3rd Edition*, (eds.) Laurel Sefton Macdowell and Ian Radforth, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006), 28.

[121] Quoted in Russell, 1990, 120.

[122] Bleasdale, 2006, 28.

[123] Orser, 2007, 78.

[124] Bleasdale, 2006, 28 and 33.

[125] Iacovetta et al, 1998, 56; *The Township of Seneca History, 1867-1967*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[126] *The Township of Seneca History, 1867-1967.*

[127] Information generated from a chart of the "African population associated with Indiana" and also noted in Chapter 2.

[128] Iacovetta et al, 1998, 56.

[129] This was noted by Peter A Baskerville, *Ontario: Image, Identity and Power*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002), 69.

[130] Macdonald, 2004, 111.

[131] Robert Paynter, "The Cult of Whiteness in Western New England", *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, (ed.) Charles E Orser Jr., (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2001), 137.

[132] Shackel, 2003, 7.

[133] Letter, attic pigeonhole 17A-A2, #29 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[134] Letter from Wills Murdoch, Oct 1st, 1881, Deans, attic pigeonhole 27A, #9 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[135] *Ruthven General Journal 1831-1837; Petty Ledger #4, 1839-40*; *Petty Ledger #6, 1842-44,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[136] All of the entries that carry the designation 'colored" have a corresponding reference to "boy", "girl", "man" or "woman". See: *General Journal 1831-1837*; *Petty Ledger #6, 1842-44*; *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[137] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp 21, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[138] Baskerville, 2002, 70.

[139] See Chapter 2.

[140] From Mary Nelles' notes, "The African Methodist Episcopal Church, Seneca Township", Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[141] As noted in the 1851 Census for Haldimand County.

[142] Haldimand County Census information from 1871.

[143] This notation about Charles being "colored" was common. See for example: *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 19, Indiana; *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[144] *Bills Receivable and Bills Payable, 1856-1868,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[145] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 19, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[146] Artifact room, metal trunk, 26, #8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[147] From Mary Nelles' notes, "The African Methodist Episcopal Church, Seneca Township", Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[148] *The Township of Seneca History, Centennial Year 1867-1967*, Seneca Centennial Historical Committee, 1967.

[149] The name of the print and the lithographer are on the back of the piece. There is a note on the back which reads, "Patented by Mrs. LM Spencer, Entered according to the Act of Congress in the year 1853 by W Shaus in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the southern district of New York, "Power of Fashion", Lith by Lafosse".

[150] Robin Bolton-Smith and Douglas Hyland "Baby Chicks: The Sentimental Brush of Lilly Martin Spencer." *The Register of the Spencer Museum of Art*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas, spring 1983), 80-93.

[151] David H. Wallace, *John Rogers: The People's Sculptor*, (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), 216.

[152] Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, July 1851, pp 99, From: United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, Toronto, Ontario (BX9084.A1 M56 PS Microfilm 1).

[153] The map is in the Public Archives of Canada but it's also featured facing page lxxxxvi in the "Introduction", *The Valley of the Six Nations: A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River*, (ed.) Charles M Johnston, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

[154] As quoted by MacDonald, 2004, 52.

[155] A formal letter from the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, was address to D. Thompson II in response to his request for information on the population of Cayuga Indians in his area. See: Attic Pigeonhole 24AB, #23, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[156] Letter from Wm R Sutherland, *The Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record,* Nov 1847, pp 6, United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, Toronto.

[157] Ferrier, 1851, 99.

[158] Crowley, 1995, 40.

[159] The Act of 1869 had two major components. First, it abolished traditional forms of government and replaced it with a male-only elected system, which was under the control of the local Indian agent. Second, the control of most elements on the reserve – the land, resources and finances – passed to the hands of the Indian Department. There is little wonder that Natives were disinterested in working with, or abiding by, an Act that was intent on assimilation. For further

information on this Act, see: John Milloy, *Indian Act Colonialism: A Century of Dishonour 1869-1969*, Research Paper for the National Center for First Nations Governance, (2008), 7.

[160] Letter to David Thompson from Alan Moufuss? Deputy of the General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, June 14, 1882, Attic Pigeonhole 24AA, #9, pp 2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[161] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 160, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[162] Petition to David Thompson, MPP, County of Haldimand from 12 chiefs of the Tuscarora and Oneida Indians, located on the Grand River in the Counties of Brant and Haldimand, June 25, 1866, Attic Pigeonhole 12AA, #25B and 25C, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[163] Letter from the Indian Office, Brantford, Mar 11th, 1882, Signed by JP Gilkinson and written to D. Thompson MP, Attic Pigeonhole 35B, #72A front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[164] David Faux, "Lower Cayuga Settlements prior to 1850: Documentary evidence", *KEWA*, (Sept 1985-6), 10.

[165] From a handwritten document, between David Thompson and George Montague Senior and Junior September 27, 1841, Artifact Room Metal Trunk, 87E, Doc 16, Front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[166] A Quit Claim Deed is a legal document by which a person releases or "quits" any claim that they may have had to property. Of the different types of deeds, the quit-claim has the least assurance that the person receiving it will actually get any rights. The person who provides a quit-claim deed makes no warranty or representation that they actually own anything. The quit-claim merely provides that whatever they had or may have had, they are conveying it. From: www.statemaster.com/encyclopedia; Artefact room, metal trunk 87E, #14 and artifact room, metal trunk, 87E, #3, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[167] Macdonald, 2004, 50; Artifact room, metal trunk, 87E, #11, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[168] Artifact room, metal trunk 87E, #1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga

[169] Letters from Bold Cudmore Hill, *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from London England*, letters by Bold Cudmore Hill, Edinburough Square Museum, Caledonia.

[170] Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 199.

Chapter 6 - The Stuff of Everyday Life: Material Culture

As discussed in the previous chapter, "white" is a historical concept that obscures a tangle of gendered, racial, ethnic, class and locational inequalities. Archaeologist Paul Mullins contends that "racial ideologues argued quite successfully that this tacit white 'norm' was the appropriate backdrop against which Victorians should interpret all social and material meaning."[1] As such, it is imperative for scholars of history and material culture to attempt to look at data by means of the racial constructs particular to the period under examination.[2] This chapter turns more directly to the material culture of Indiana by considering specific artifacts excavated from town Lots 13, 14, and 15. The objective is to study such objects as physical evidence that shine light on Victorian ideas and ideals, especially regarding understandings of class, status, and gender in Ontario and the myriad ways in which these notions affected practices, customs and daily lives. Specifically in such matters as: entertainment, food preparation and dining, housekeeping, recreation, consumption, health and hygiene. Selected artifacts left behind by Indiana residents will be discussed in order to provide an entry into the private workings of household economies, family dynamics, and the historical use of space.

The examination of material culture, often by means of archaeological methods, permits the recovery of an alternate form of evidence that can then be related to, and used to support and enrich, traditional historical data that is most often documentary in provenance. David Burley's study of Brantford offers a theoretically useful framework for this chapter. Burley asserts that "once one

accepts that everyone need not be consigned to a particular class at each and every moment in time, that men and women are in social motion, advancing and falling, then one can avoid some of the awkward and contradictory propositions in middle-class historiography and quantitative methodology."[3] In embracing such a view of the constantly shifting nature of social and individual identities, the challenge is to write about ordinary lives with sensitivity to the historical moment, and in meaningful ways. That is the goal of this chapter.

i. Understanding Class through Material Culture

This study has discussed prevailing concepts and role constructions associated with gender, race, ethnicity, religion, occupation, location, age and nation, in order to attempt an understanding of how these affected the people of Indiana, and the changes and continuities over the period. What has been missing to this point is a direct consideration of class. This discussion will focus on the insights that can be gleaned from material culture analysis, and is, consequently, informed by methods borrowed from historical archaeology. Historical archaeologists are particularly interested in the subject of class because artifacts are symbols of meaning that reflect the wealth and status of those who owned and used them.[4] Utilizing some of the artifactual evidence recovered from archaeological explorations at Indiana allows for a sense of how issues of class identity, roles and relations permeated the lives of ordinary citizens in this rural-industrial town.

The term *class* is here employed in a relational sense: each class exists and defines itself as such in relation to other such social groupings or classes. The concept, therefore, can be used in several ways; it can be scalar, indicating relative position to other classes; it can be employed functionally, to indicate a division of labour; or it can be applied subjectively, to describe that which denotes class consciousness, both in terms of self-identity and of identification with others, within and outside of one's own class. Further, class can be understood as both a vertical or economic relationship and as a horizontal or cultural relationship.[5]

Struggles over the development of manners and mores, the delineation of virtues and vices, and the coding of certain kinds of behaviours as respectable and others as improper, most notably in regard to gender roles, were central to the bourgeois process of self-definition.[6] Bourgeois cultural resources, it has been argued, played "as great a role in defining middle-class identity as the financial ones invested in commercial ventures or manufacturing enterprises."[7] According to historian David Burley, for Victorian men, class conformed as much to individual and familial life-stages as it did to the more obvious divisions entailed in familial status, education and occupation. In his study of Brantford, Ontario, Burley allowed for the idea that class contained "boundaries of membership."[8] Interestingly, he tied the rise of some of the town's businesses to the creation of the Grand River Navigation Company, in which David Thompson was a major shareholder, and the subsequent decline of Brantford to the very same company.[9] Such conclusions are obviously significant here, but the salient

point is that Brantford appears to have faced challenges similar to those of Indiana, during the same time, primarily because of these close geographic and economic connections. As was the case in Indiana, the 1860's and 1870's witnessed a fundamental reorganization of Brantford's economy, necessitated by the relative decline of self-employment and the increasing scale and size of businesses in the industrial sector. Burley concludes that, if the Brantford example represents processes in larger segments of Ontario society, it can be said that capitalism grew within local contexts.[10] There is little doubt that Indiana similarly saw the development of a localized form of industrial capitalism. It did not, however, reach the levels of industrialization that Brantford witnessed. Moreover, Indiana ceased to exist while Brantford struggled on.

In a seminal historical-archaeological study of an Australian town, focusing primarily on the nineteenth century, Heather Burke designed a workable set of definitions for capitalism and ideology, which could serve as a conceptual framework to investigate the relationship between the development of capitalism in a region and the expression of ideology found in local styles of architecture.[11] Burke's own work emphasized the point that it was not only efficient for workers to live in close proximity to their places of work, as commonly understood, but also that it was beneficial for employers to provide housing for the workers. The corollary also held true: it was increasingly considered desirable for owners to live away from the workplace, "or at least recognizably separate from it."[12] While the workers' houses no longer exist in Indiana, making a direct correlation to Burke's findings impossible, remaining evidence strongly suggests that at least

some workers did live in housing supplied by both Thompson men. There is little doubt, furthermore, that Ruthven mansion stands as an imposing monument to the status of the Thompson family, both in the town and the larger Upper Canadian society, and also to the careful distance that David Thompson wanted to maintain between his family and his workers. The longest side of the mansion faced Indiana and the laneway leading up to it was intentionally imposing, issuing a clear message about the social and physical separation that marked the class differences between ordinary Indiana residents and the Thompson family. Thompson I appears to have been a prototypical nineteenth-century capitalist, intent on the accumulation of wealth and power, as well as the cultivation and maintenance of social distance from those deemed socially inferior. While class distinction and status as conferred by family wealth and land and business ownership were undoubtedly also important to his son, David Thompson II, there is also a strong case to be made for placing Thompson II in the role of the paternalistic employer and landlord, interested in community leadership and charitable works.[13] The public roles of the two Thompson men reveal a combination of an older, traditional paternalism and the new entrepreneurial capitalism, as well as the generational differences between those who established the family business and those who inherited it, in terms of their social, class-based outlook.

Historical sociologist Gordon Darroch has examined class formation in rural environments, specifically regarding the development of the middle class outside of the urban centres of nineteenth-century Ontario. The family farm

occupied nearly half of all families in the province in the 1860s; by the 1870s an increasing number of non-farm families were cultivating small plots to supplement their family economies in both urban and rural environments.[14] Darroch argues that rural middle-class families commonly subsisted in seasonal and life-cycle patterns that included, in addition to agriculture, waged labour, lumbering and tenancy, as well as family migration to new areas.[15] In Indiana some residents rented farms from Thompson and others, but most worked for wages in various capacities. Those who farmed for a living full time were not generally incorporated in this study.[16] Nonetheless, it is evident that the residents of Indiana did any number of things to make ends meet, including small-scale farming and gardening. The majority, however, took up the family strategies of wage labour, tenancy and migration, as well as some gardening for family sustenance, thus fitting neatly into Darroch's classification of the rural middle class.

There is little doubt that such shifting concepts as class, class distinction, and social status are key to any understanding of nineteenth-century Ontario society. The challenge lies in approaching these issues historically, but also in practical terms, and in relation to the specific case of Indiana, a town that has effectively been "written out" of the historical record. Historians typically privilege written records over all other forms of evidence; thus the Thompson Papers are an invaluable resource. Insofar as the materials are available, however, it is worthwhile to consider class by means of the study of objects, or artifacts. There are evident linkages between the practices of consumption, which can be

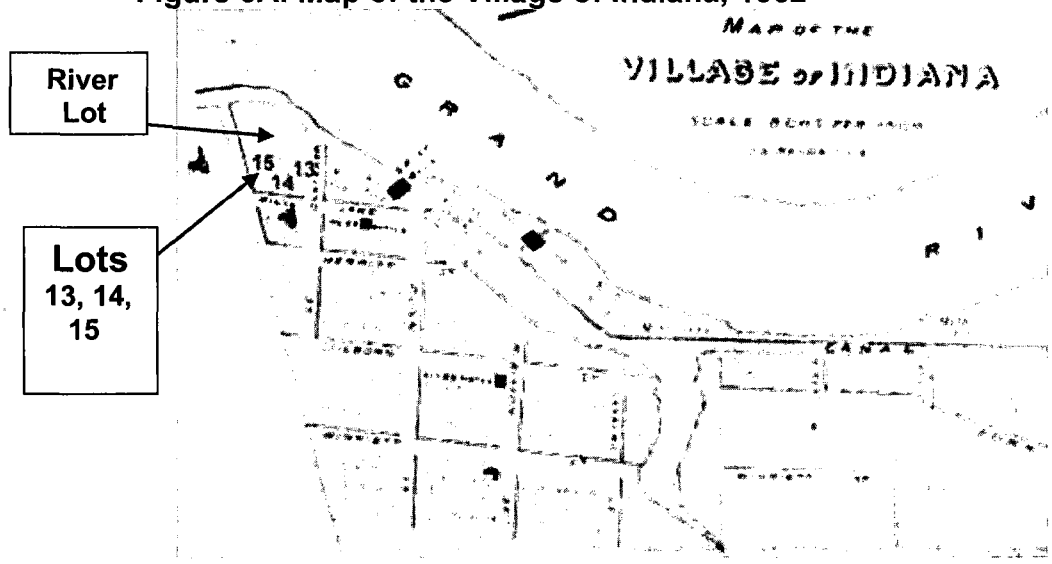
examined through probate inventories and other relevant inventorial documents, and the materiality of that consumption as it takes form in surviving objects. Household goods, from common cooking utensils to fine tableware, were heavily invested with symbolic meaning in the nineteenth century. These items were not simply purchased in obedience to developing consumer ideologies that offered class mobility through personal discipline and correct behavior. Such goods were assertions of consumer power, and they were figuratively borrowed rather than consumed in wholesale fashion.[17] What follows is a discussion of a selection of artifacts unearthed during excavations conducted on Lots 13, 14 and 15 in Indiana, with the objective of considering the historical relationship of class and material culture for what it can reveal of the everyday lives of Indiana residents, the vast majority of whom did not leave written records for historians to examine.

ii. The Indiana Lots, the use of Space and the Archaeological Record

Every undergraduate student, in Archaeology at Wilfrid Laurier, is required to attend a six-week program where they learn to map a site and look for surface features, as well as excavate, record, clean and assess artifacts. These are known as Field Schools. At Indiana students participated in these Field Schools in 2004 and 2006.[18] The lots that were included in this study were those labeled as 13, 14 and 15 on the town plot of Indiana.[19] At the back of each lot, next to the river, was a strip of land that was not labeled on any known map. For purposes of discussion here, that area will be referred to as the *River Lot*. It is unclear why

the River Lot proved to contain a significant number of artifacts, but it is assumed that the residents, or those who used the land for other purposes, simply extended their use of each Lot to include the area next to the river, perhaps in ignorance of the lot lines or perhaps simply because no one else was using it.

Figure 6A: Map of the Village of Indiana, 1862



In documents from the late 1870's the street that the town lots fronted was labeled "Grand River Street"; however, the maps of Indiana produced in 1846 and 1862 both show the street as "Mill Lane".[20] The 1862 invoice presented to David Thompson II for the building of the sidewalk through the town refers to the street as "Church Street".[21] While it is puzzling that the street name appears to have been variable, it is evident that people merely referred to the street by the name most consistently in use at the time. Regardless of the street's name, the lots in question were continuously and consistently labeled as 13, 14 and 15. It is hoped that future research will determine the exact function of the unlabelled River Lot and the identities of those who made use of the land there. Taken

together, Lots 13, 14, and 15 will be referred to as the West Field when reference is made to all three of the lots under investigation. The River Lot is here excluded due to the lack of historical information about it.

What is known about the documented history of lots 13, 14 and 15 is sketchy at best. Despite the fact that all three lots were shown on the town map as early as 1846, each of the lots had only one owner. Each lot was originally obtained from either the Grand River Navigation Company or the Haldimand Navigation Company. Of the three known owners, Alexander Mitchell was the only one who, after obtaining the lot from one of the canal companies, did not forfeit his lot back to the Thompsons, who held the mortgages. In all three cases, the owners were millers or mill owners. All three men, as businessmen, landowners and consequently community leaders, would have been expected to live morally upright and "respectable" lives as family men and members of the rural middle class, as discussed in Chapter 4. All three also experienced the challenges of economic uncertainties associated with their chosen work, their times, and their location in Indiana.[22]

Table 6A: Known Residents of the West Field [23]

Name	Lot	Dates
Lees, James	13	1871-1878
Lees, James	14	1871-1878
Mitchell, Alexander	15	1855-1860
White, Michael	15	1860-1865

Each of the house lots on the West field was originally assumed to have had buildings oriented toward the street they faced; in the nineteenth century the

front of most houses was metaphorically both the family's "window" on the world and the "face" it wished to present to that world. Every house was expected to have a presentable façade, although the lower and back areas were often much more modest in presentation. The backs of Victorian houses had much less personality; these were meant to be the functional side of the dwelling, the tradesmen's and servants' entry, where the comings and goings were routine and related to the mundane functions of housekeeping and everyday life.[24] Front doors were reserved for family and important visitors.[25] At Indiana, it is similarly assumed that the houses faced the nearby street, while the rear of the lots, the functional side of the buildings, would contain outbuildings. The most common out buildings were the ice house, the woodshed and, of course, the privy.[26] Although many artifacts associated with the architectural features of the houses and outbuildings were discovered on the three lots under investigation, there was no structural evidence of any buildings located during excavations.[27] The lack of structural evidence should not be taken as proof that people were not living in houses on the Lots, but rather that the houses were salvaged for any useable materials, therefore leaving little that was architecturally diagnostic behind. As such, it is impossible to determine exactly how the houses were oriented on these lots. However, the artifact assemblage does offer clues about the landscape and about those who inhabited it.

The first task that was undertaken in the 2004 field school, on the West Field, was to re-establish the streets of the town. [28] The one remaining house in Indiana, known as Hill House, was used as a reference point in that assessment.

Once the streets were laid out, a grid was established for graphing the site so that specific archaeological finds could be pinpointed precisely on the map. With the grid completed, a strategic test-pitting program was carried out, which entailed the digging of shovel pits by hand on a five meter grid that covered seven of the former town lots. Areas of high artifact frequency were then chosen for excavation. Finally, the excavation was carried out using a stratigraphic lot system.[29]

Among the important initial findings of the excavation were that Unit A (see green areas on the map below) contained significant quantities of cut stone, rubble, mortar, brick and nails, which together comprised 41% of the total artifacts excavated in 2004. Unfortunately, no *in situ* foundations were located. In

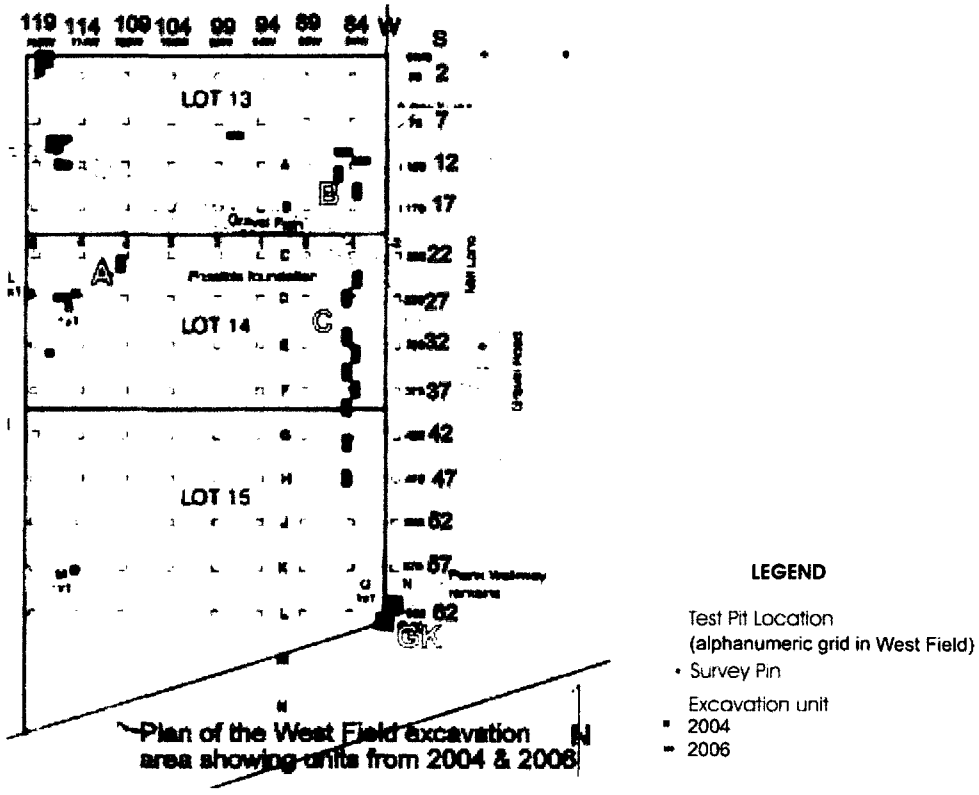


Figure 6B: West Field Excavation, 2004, 2006

other words, structural features were missing, including flagstones, foundation remnants, wood boards and drainage features.[30] In the lowest stratigraphic layer, two wooden planks were found with nails in them. No other wooden pieces were located in Unit A, which suggests that wood had been salvaged but brick and nails had been discarded. Unit G/K contained what appeared to be the remains of a wooden plank sidewalk.[31] What made that particularly noteworthy was that only a very small section of planking remained which, once again, suggests the salvaging of any useable materials when the town was being abandoned.[32]

Overall, the excavations in 2004 revealed minimal evidence of domestic occupation on the West field, yet it was reasoned that artifacts associated with occupation could still be found. As such, it was planned that the 2006 excavations would carefully examine lots 13, 14 and 15, the three lots that had the highest artifact yields, to ascertain if anything further could be learned about the residents and their activities on the lots.

Prior to the start of the 2006 field school, I assisted Professor John Triggs in carrying out a remote sensing survey using the 2004 coordinates and an EM38 magnetometer on Lots 13, 14 and 15.[33] Several transects were run at the rear of the lots to determine whether any garbage pits, or middens, as well as other features, could be identified. We were able to locate areas of particular interest on the West Field for the 2006 excavation from this exercise. The students who participated in that field school undertook investigation of a *hot spot* at the rear of Lot 13, identified through the remote sensing exercise.[34] A series of excavation units was also placed along what was surmised to have been the centre of the

houses along Mill Lane (marked B and C on the map, Figure 6B above). In addition, a few other units, which the remote sensing survey pointed to as having excellent potential, were excavated. All excavation units for the 2006 field school are marked in red on the map, Figure 6B. The units were excavated by shovel and screened through ¼ inch mesh.

During the 2006 excavations, by far the largest quantity of artifacts, 7176 was unearthed from the back of lot 13 (units 8.5S:117W and 8.5S:118W) in two middens; these were the areas identified as hot spots during the remote sensing exercise, as the chart in 6B indicates. Middens were typically located far

Table 6B: West Field Units, 2006

Provenience [35]	Total Artifacts
0N:119W	413
1N:119W	774
2S:83W	1
4S:83W	3
6S:83W	3
6S:83W	1
8S:86W	156
8S:87W	1
8S:96W	548
8.5S:117W	4157
8.5S:118W	3019
10S:83W	2
10S:85W	2
10S:86W	83
10S:87W	29
11S:84W	14
11S:84W	43
12S:86W	59
12.5S:117W	1909
14S:83W	8
14S:84W	35
14S:85W	65

Provenance	Total Artifacts
16S:83W	2
16S:85W	1
16S:87W	1
18S:83W	7
18S:85W	2
18S:87W	2
20S:85W	2
24S:85W	67
25S:85W	8
25.5S:85W	25
26S:85W	46
26.5S:117W	997
26.5S:85W	19
30S:85W	77
32S:118W	211
32S:84W	72
34S:85W	95
36S:84W	78
38S:85W	84
42S:85W	52
45S:85W	22
46S:85W	79
TOTAL	13274

These units coordinate with the map [Fig. B above] to locate excavation units

enough away from the house so that the smell would not be offensive. That appears to have been the case in the West Field.[36] Moreover, as MacDonald has discovered, where a midden deposit has been identified as a feature and has been excavated, 65% or more of the total assemblage is comprised of faunal material and food preparation groups (which she refers to together as the "Kitchen Group"). If the artifacts are concentrated in a secondary deposit, such as a privy or root cellar, the Kitchen Group drops to 30% of the total site assemblage.[37] Since the faunal material and the food preparation artifacts together comprise 34.1% of the total artifacts on Lot 13, 34.3% on Lot 14 and 39.3% on Lot 15, the Kitchen Group artifact totals suggest that all of the features that contained refuse on the West Field were secondary features that were utilized as garbage dumps by the residents. Triggs initially considered this idea, but concluded that the two areas were shallow middens and not other features that were filled in.[38]

After the data was analyzed, the findings revealed that buildings were salvaged and/or moved to other locations. Triggs reached this intriguing conclusion based on the absence of large quantities of window glass, nails, plaster, bricks and roofing material. Thus, in a strange twist, the lack of evidence of lumber, in particular, serves as evidence that houses were salvaged for useable lumber and probably anything else that could have been put to a new use. In the absence of such evidence of salvaging during the dismantling of Indiana, those architectural artifacts would have been found in large quantities. Triggs also noted that the 2007 excavations at the Catholic Church revealed

large quantities of wall plaster, lath nails and framing nails, but not window glass, bricks or roofing materials, all of which indicate some dismantling of the church took place before it was moved.[39]

There is little doubt that many buildings were moved, as noted in Chapter 3, but there is also evidence that building materials were scavenged for use elsewhere. Mary Nelles reported, at the turn of the century, that what was left of the Presbyterian Church was torn down and the materials were reused to build the Leitch house.[40] It must be stressed that the abandonment of houses in Indiana was not unique to the area, but was a historic phenomenon brought about by the out-migration which took place in rural Ontario between 1880 and 1930.[41]

One of the interesting pieces of landscape-use evidence uncovered in 2006 involves the fence lines around lot 13 and between lots 14 and 15. Triggs suggests that the spatial organization on the lots allowed for livestock to be contained on individual properties and away from the kitchen gardens that most families maintained. Since the Lees owned lots 13 and 14, and they were the only known residents during this time, it is assumed that their main house was on Lot 13, based on the large quantity of household garbage deposited at the back of the lot. Further, it was hypothesized that Lot 14 was used for gardens or pasture.[42] It is certainly likely that one of the lots served as pasture because James Lees was paid by Thompson II to pasture a horse and various cattle between 1872 and 1874.[43]

iii. The Artifact Database and the Question of Context

Context is relevant to any historical study because context can help affix meaning to an event or an object. Where context is missing the meaning becomes uncertain. Of course, problems arise when historians and archaeologists attempt to retrieve, describe or analyze context. In some cases the success of that effort is open to debate. As such, it becomes necessary to differentiate between those items that are extraordinary and those that are utilitarian, and the effects for related documentation. There is also the dilemma of the everyday object becoming exceptional. Finally, there is the issue of determining an appropriate context versus an inappropriate context.[44] In order to address these problems archaeologists begin by placing artifacts into categories.

The key to any classification of artifacts or sites lies in the matter of selectivity; that is, typologies are based on a consideration of some features or attributes selected over others. Essentially, the classifiers focus their attention so that certain kinds of information are systematically excluded, while others are chosen for inclusion. Listing the features and attributes for every possible artifact and site type, however, becomes a futile endeavour. Such factors as class, education, gender, age, location, use of space and ethnic background, to name just a few of those pertinent, all ultimately influence what will be found on each site where types of artifacts and features are concerned. Despite the problematic nature of selection and classification, however, there are a number of artifact categories and features that are likely to be present on the majority of historic sites and these constitute the focus of most historical- archaeological studies.

The artifacts from the West Field were cleaned, assessed and catalogued in the field school laboratory in each archaeological season, 2004 and 2006. They were categorized on the basis of the *Parks Canada Coding Guide* for Artifact Inventories. This was done to allow for future comparative studies of the artifact assemblage to other similar sites also using the Parks Canada coding system. The system lays out guidelines about what should be included in each category, and consequently what should be excluded. The two field schools excavated a total of 15,646 artifacts in the West Field: 10,842 in Lot 13; 3,160 in Lot 14; and 1,644 in Lot 15 (see the chart, 6C, below). Breaking down the artifact assemblage into these categories made the prospect of investigating 15,646 artifacts manageable.

Table 6C: Artifact Categories for the West Field

Category	Lot 13	Lot 14	Lot 15	Totals
Activities	31	5	1	37
Architecture	2589	1125	736	4450
Arms	3	0	0	3
Clothing Group	65	5	4	74
Domestic Activities	1	3	2	6
Faunal/Floral	816	304	111	1231
Food Preparation	2891	782	535	4208
Fuel	328	343	65	736
Furniture Group	10	0	2	12
Medical/Hygiene	57	0	1	58
Native	1847	268	39	2154
Personal Group	5	1	1	7
Smoking	73	24	31	128
Unassigned	2126	300	116	2542
Totals	**10842**	**3160**	**1644**	**15646**

In general, after any database has been developed, archaeologists look at the assemblage to determine the types of information that can be derived from the material culture that is present. They search for such information as the relative dates of the site, the socioeconomic status of the inhabitants, the gender, ethnicity, race, religion, and the ages or occupations of the inhabitants, all identifying characteristics that may or may not be discovered in the artifacts unearthed during an excavation.[45]

One of the methods for extracting historical information from artifacts is by application of the life cycle model, wherein the entire life cycle of the object is considered, from the processing of raw materials through manufacturing, transportation and distribution, use, re-use, maintenance, recycling and finally deposition. Included in these studies can be such relevant issues as government policy, marketing, consumer education and product design. Studies based on the life cycle model generally show that the greatest degree of uniformity in the object was at the point of production, where standardization can occur. The greatest variation, on the other hand, is found in the use, re-use and maintenance of an item.[46]

Hand in hand with the life cycle model are those studies that consider deposition and what happens to an item once it has been disposed. Considering that the vast majority of items produced ended up as garbage and have therefore disappeared from the historical-archaeological record, those that have survived are considered uncommon; those remaining artifacts, consequently, can reasonably be thought of as exceptional. By the time of excavation, having

moved through the typical life-cycle stages of an object from its original creation to marketing, sales and distribution, to ownership that includes use, re-use and repair, to garbage, what is finally recovered is only a small piece of the original set of artifacts to which the object belonged. In other words, it can be viewed as a sample of a sample of a sample. Therein lies the problem. If an item has been singled out as exceptional, perhaps because it was written about in a diary or business document, or by virtue of simply having survived, it is immediately removed from its original context and made into something else. Its survival might be owed to luck, taste, the fact that the item is whole and not broken, and even the development of the art market, all of which have contributed to new readings of the past and its material remains. Ignoring or glossing over that fact can lead to a romanticized interpretation of the object. In short, additional layers of context, and therefore meaning, have likely been added during the process of recovery.[47] The issue of multiple contexts has rarely been addressed by scholars; there are contexts that need to be determined, but which ones are historically appropriate?

One of the most important determinants is the establishment of dates or a timeframe in which a site was inhabited. There are a number of specialized dating techniques utilized in historical archaeology that can produce a fairly precise statement about the age of the site. The dates obtained can either support or refute the dates derived from historical sources. One such dating technique, known as the Mean Ceramic Date (MCD), is calculated using the dates of manufacture of many English pottery types, known to within five years or

less of production; this can offer insight into the relative dates of a site. Other types of artifacts have also been documented in terms of the materials from which they were made, their places of origin, and their dates of manufacture, all of which assist the archaeologist in determining the age of a site. The principle of dating an archaeological deposit on the basis of the newest artifact found is common to archaeology and is referred to as the *terminus post quem* or as the "date after which".[48] A good example of this is the coin unearthed during the 2004 excavation. The coin was dated 1852; the date of deposition for the artifact could not have been prior to 1852, thus it had to have been deposited at some unknown time after that date. Hence the artifact offered a relative date after which it was lost or thrown out.

iv. Tableware as Evidence of Class and Taste

Perhaps the most widely analyzed and ubiquitous artifact category found on historic sites is ceramics. As James Deetz points out, "Ceramics are common: they are a constant component of all archaeological assemblages, and their use relates directly to a universal human experience, subsistence".[49] A variety of ceramic types and associated costs have been documented and studied.[50] Three general categories of ceramics are found on most historic sites: earthenware, stoneware and porcelain. Each of these categories can be sub-divided, based upon observable differences in glaze, decoration and paste. In addition to these categories, most of the ware types can be easily identified as to country of origin, which then allows for direct use of historical sources that detail costs and price

fixing lists, chronological ordering and technologies used in the manufacturing process.[51]

Earthenware is soft and absorbent but can be made impermeable by glazing. The glazes used are often lead-based, with additives that impart colour or opacity. There are two common types found on historic sites. The first are undecorated utility wares, mainly pots, with a buff or red coloured body. The second type is thinner and harder. The important feature of these is that the lead glazes were improved over time and the ceramics went from being buff coloured to sporting an off-white glaze known as *Creamware*, dating between 1760 and 1830.[52] Since the public preferred lighter tableware, a new type of a pale blue hue, called *Pearlware*, which can be dated between 1780 and 1850, was developed.[53] Finally, in the 1830's, adding tin to the lead glaze refined the process so that the pottery was white-bodied.[54] This is important because knowledge about the glazes provide a clear chronological sequence, through time, that is traceable and datable.

Stoneware is a hard-bodied ceramic that does not absorb water. These vessels do not require a glaze to make them impermeable; however, some potters used a salt glaze to make the vessel smoother. A variety of colours is found on historic sites, but the most common are brown, blue-gray, and white, often with blue designs on them. In contrast, *porcelain* is a vitrified white ceramic made from special clay called "kaolin". It is hard and impermeable, and, unlike stoneware and earthenware, porcelain is translucent. On most archaeological sites, porcelain is relatively uncommon due to the higher costs associated with its

production.[55] When it is found, it is frequently sub-divided into categories based on glazing, technology and country of origin.[56]

Due to the ubiquitous nature of ceramics, it is not surprising that they have been used to obtain some very relevant pieces of information about those who inhabited the sites under investigation. For example, it is possible to ascertain the approximate monetary value of the ceramics found on a site, termed "ceramic indices".[57] From these indices, it is possible to infer the relative wealth and some sense of the taste of the inhabitants, their social status, and potentially even the function of the site. This allows for comparisons to be made between those sites that favour, for example, fancier teawares, with those sites that do not.[58]

The application of ceramic indices has been considered useful for many reasons, but chief among them is that they provide clues about the manner in which a household expended its resources. Detractors of this method have argued that the relative quantities of ceramic wares in a household represent culture and not economic standing.[59] Either way, this type of analysis does allow consumption to be seen as a "stage in the process of communication".[60] In order to participate in this type of communication, each member has to know what things meant and to whom.[61] Thus, communication carries with it an aspect of power, because those who lack the knowledge to understand or participate in the discourse cannot appropriately receive or send information.[62] Interestingly, even though it is usually assumed that women controlled the domestic sphere during the nineteenth century, it was usually men who controlled the consumer spending. Therefore, women actually became "de-emphasized" in this analytical

process.[63] What that means in practical terms is that determining who selected such household goods as the tableware for a family is not always simple or obvious.

In order to study ceramic assemblages effectively, George Miller developed a system focused on the ceramic "type" in reference to the decorative style of each piece and the number of pieces of individual sherds in each type. He then devised a formula for calculating the relative costs of ceramics excavated on sites lacking readily available price lists or accounts.[64] Miller contends that such an interval scale for ceramics "is going to increase our ability to perform socio-economic analysis of archaeological collections".[65] He concedes, however, that many factors could influence the costs of ceramics, including geography, transportation, and consumer demands. Nonetheless, Miller argues that his index provides a general tool that can be used in analyzing a collection.[66] In fact, in Ontario, it has been demonstrated by Ian and Susan Kenyon that a clear relationship exists between the worth of a household's furnishings and the value of tableware ceramics and glass. They found that ceramics and tableware represented 4.1% of the total household's furnishings. Further, the Kenyon's have shown that the consumption of ceramics was seen to be neither a luxury nor a necessity hence there was no tendency for people to spend more or less on ceramics when they experienced increased or decreased wealth.[67]

Miller's ceramic classification system is divided into four levels based on decoration. The first or lowest level, given a value of 1, contains items that are

undecorated, and were cheap and widely available. The second level items also have negligible decoration, were made by "minimally skilled operatives" and were the cheapest decorated ware available. An example of this type of decorative tableware was known as "shell edged", and the most common colour throughout the nineteenth century was blue. The decorative type was given a value between 1 and 2 depending on the size of the dish and the year of its production. On Miller's third level are a variety of wares that include painted motifs such as flowers, leaves, geometric patterns and Chinese landscapes, otherwise known as painted or enamelled wares; this type required craftspeople with higher skills in order to reproduce patterns that could be assembled as matched sets.[68] The ceramic index values for these styles are variable for a variety of reasons but they average around 3.

The fourth or highest level is referred to as *transfer printed* wares. Transfer printing was an English innovation of the 1790's, that made possible the creation of intricately decorated and exactly-matching pieces at a cost well below similarly hand painted pieces; willow ware is a common example of transfer printed ware [see photograph, Figure 6C, below].[69] In the 1790's, transfer painted vessels were three to five times more expensive than undecorated vessels (the first level), but by the mid-nineteenth century the price differential was reduced to approximately two times the cost of undecorated wares. Most printed wares receive high marks on Miller's scale, usually averaging 4, although some are as low as 1.5 and as high as 7.5.[70]

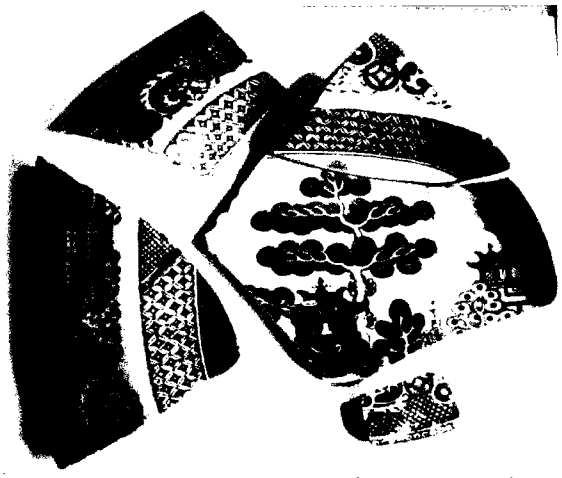


Figure 6C: Blue Willow transfer-ware sherds, excavated from Lot 13, unit 8.5S:117W

Porcelain wares were more expensive than Miller's fourth level for ware types, but were rare enough that Miller did not consider porcelain to be important in his classification system. The final outcome of all calculations is referred to as the CC index. [71]

At Indiana the CC index was calculated for each excavation unit within each lot, as well as the overall calculation for each lot.[72] In Lot 13, the CC index ranged from 1.2 to 1.9 but the overall average for the lot was 1.4. This lot also had the highest number of ceramic tableware sherds at 1436. Lot 14 had CC values from 1.0 to 2.3 but the average across the lot was 1.5. This lot had only 284 pieces of ceramics from which to derive these calculations. For Lot 15, the values ranged from 1 to 1.8, with the average across the lot at 1.4. In this lot there were 437 pieces of ceramics in the tableware category.

What does all this data actually tell us about the material contexts of life in nineteenth-century Indiana? In general, the findings reveal that, while there was a large variety of ceramic styles and prices across all the lots under investigation, for the most part the ceramics were functional and relatively inexpensive.

Because there was a relatively small collection of more expensive wares, such as porcelain (representing 1.8% of the ceramics unearthed on Lot 13) and transfer wares (representing 9.8% of the total ceramics), it is clear that, although these residents acquired some pieces of fancy and expensive imported wares they did not spend their money on large matching sets. In terms of social status and distinction, it can be argued that they were not, on the whole, intent on communicating the message that they were aspiring to a higher class. Rather, they purchased items that they could afford. This seems to confirm the Kenyon's assertion that, in Ontario, ceramics were neither a luxury nor a necessity.[73]

v. Dating the Site Using Ceramics

The Mean Ceramic Dating method, as devised by Stanley South (1972, 1977), has been widely used in historical archaeology.[74] Studies have shown that the dates generated using this method usually fall within the timeframe when sites were known to have been used, based on historic documentation. Regarding the lots in question for Indiana, once the ware types and the sherd counts were determined, all the ceramics were further subdivided into the Provenience and Lot in which they were excavated. Finally, the ceramic assemblage was compacted into the number of pieces, of each type, in each area. The process of reducing the assemblage into smaller units facilitated the calculation of the Mean Ceramic Date. South's method and rely on the fact that the periods of manufacture of over 100 pottery types are known.[75]

One problem with the method lies in the fact that one piece of pottery could have been broken into a number of smaller pieces and would be over-represented in the assemblage. A solution for this is found in using a minimum vessel count as opposed to the sherd count but that too is rife with problems. In particular, determining which sherds belong to which vessel means that all interpreters need to be familiar with all vessel shapes and sizes in all of the pottery types known. Furthermore, the use of minimum vessels is a method that is not easily repeatable if different people interpret the vessels in different ways. For this reason, the use of actual sherd counts is generally considered to be the better way to calculate the date in spite of the inherent problems with this method. The Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) formula is calculated as follows:

$$MCD = \frac{\text{Sum of (date x frequency)}}{\text{Sum of the frequency}}$$

Critics of the Mean Ceramic Date have mostly concentrated on the fact there is a somewhat arbitrary substitution of mid-century dates for types that last for a very long time, instead of using the "real" midpoints of the production range. Another problem with this method lies in the fact that the Mean Ceramic Date occasionally indicates a discrepancy between the material culture and the historic documentation. At one time that would have led to archaeologists throwing out the date attained using this method. Instead, what is often advocated is the use of this method as a means of generating alternative interpretations of the site. In spite of its potential flaws, a number of tests have shown a relationship between the Mean Ceramic Date derived from the formula

and the median occupation date derived from historical documentation. When discrepancies do exist, they are said to be the result of manufacture-deposition lag.[76] It must be stressed that the depositional lag is an important piece of the puzzle. When things are manufactured early and deposited later, the result is an earlier date for the Mean Ceramic Date than is actually the case for a site itself. There is a bias toward earlier dates, consequently, over actual or mid-occupation dates.[77] This method nonetheless remains useful when applied in conjunction with other approaches to determine the date of the site.

In Indiana, the Mean Ceramic Dates (MCD) were calculated for each excavation unit and then for each lot. For Lot 13 the dates obtained from each unit ranged from 1853 to 1866, with an overall date for the lot of 1859. Lot 14 had dates ranging from 1853 to 1864, with an overall date of 1858. Lot 15 contained fewer artifacts than the others, but it was possible to generate date ranges from 1866 to 1875, with an overall date for the lot of 1870. The date for the entire lot was 1856. [78]

The dates obtained from the ceramics are not as close to the actual known dates as one might expect but there are a few reasons for that. First, ceramics were expensive and people would have kept them for as long as possible even when chipped or cracked; thus the earlier dates for Lots 13 and 14 are consistent with that point. Second, it is possible that the site was occupied earlier than the Land Registry Records indicate, but the only evidence for this is the early Mean Ceramic Date. The exact date of habitation on the West Field, therefore, is open to question and should be addressed when further analysis is

undertaken. Third, there was probably a depositional lag in the ceramics, primarily because of the length of time it would have taken them to arrive in Indiana after being produced elsewhere. There would then have been a lag between purchasing and breaking the ceramics.

vi. Other Ways of Interpreting the Meaning of Ceramics

Ceramic indices and Mean Ceramic dating are only two ways of looking at the ceramics in the archaeological record at Indiana. Another approach considers the store records and whether these indicate that the known residents of the town purchased the excavated tableware in the town store or stores. If so, it would reflect something about the relative wealth of families and their tastes. The difficulty is that stores in Indiana did not provide detail about buyers and their purchases; an information gap common to the nineteenth century records. Kenyon and Kenyon note that most account books show the debits and credits for customers, but these notations lack specificity about purchases. Each day's record of purchases was most often integrated together as "sundries". Further, most account books record only those items bought on credit, frequently not even noting items purchased with cash.[79] The Lees, for example, who owned Lots 13 and 14 in the 1870s purchased a great deal on account with Thompson, but most sales were described merely as "sundries" or "on account".[80]

One Indiana store that actually mentioned the sale of ceramics was that of C.E. Bourne, a merchant operating in the town for a short period, between 1874 and 1875. Bourne recorded that half a dozen plates and an unspecified number

of cups were sold on November 18, 1874.[81] The unfortunate thing is that we have no idea who bought them or whether the ceramic was patterned. We do know that six plates cost the person fifty-five cents, a significant amount relative to the average man's wage in the 1870s, which was seventy-five cents per day, and the average woman's wage, which was twenty-eight cents per day.[82]

There were some exceptions to the details available for individuals who shopped in Indiana. *Indiana Blotter 1, 1858-1860* contains information about individuals in the town and what they bought over that short period.[83] For example, Michael White, who owned Lot 15 between 1860 and 1865, paid for tea, tobacco, linen, sugar, port, factory shirting, flannel, cambric and spoons at Thompson's store. What makes the purchases particularly intriguing is that all of the items were sold to Michael's "girl", "son" or "wife". The only thing Michael purchased himself was hay.[84] While that is useful to know, the only things an archaeologist *might* find of those purchases are the spoons and the port container. Unfortunately, neither of those items was excavated on Lot 15. However, artifacts related to those purchases, such as smoking pipes and sewing notions, were located.[85] A different record, *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881,* indicates that White purchased flour, bran and bob sleighs from Thompson's store in 1862.[86] Again, although the bob sleighs might have been located had they been broken and discarded, as in the previous example, they were not found during excavations.

Alexander Mitchell seems to have shopped rarely in Thompson's store, or if he did so more often, he must have paid cash and therefore the transactions

were not recorded. There are only two references to his having made purchases with Thompson. The first was in 1856 and he purchased flour. In 1859 Mitchell had an "order" with Thompson containing unknown items.[87] Unlike Michael White, Mitchell borrowed money from Thompson a few times while he owned Lot 15. The first time, in 1856, he purchased oxen and a horse with the money borrowed, which was interest free for twelve months. In 1858 he borrowed money for twelve months to buy two horses; the following year, he borrowed money for three months to build a stable.[88] No artifacts associated with keeping horses or oxen were unearthed on Lot 15. If it were not for a few scanty historical references, there would be little to connect Alexander Mitchell to residence on Lot 15 or the West Field at all.

Clearly store records such as these do not directly provide information about specific individuals in Indiana, thereby leaving family economic patterns, purchases, credit, and class as uncertainties. Nonetheless, the layering of small and seemingly disparate pieces of documentary evidence with artifactual evidence allows for small but vital glimpses into the lives of the residents on the West Field, such as the sorts of things the Whites purchased and the fact that the Lees followed conventional patterns of consumption for Ontario in their tableware choices. The tableware pieces that were excavated indicate the tastes, expenditures, and financial capacity of the West Field residents regarding that important item of both ordinary family life and social life as well.[89] Taken together, the information obtained from tableware and store records permits the sketching

of small details about daily life in Indiana that might otherwise never come to light.

vii. The Significance of Pharmaceutical Bottles

Just as does the excavation and examination of ceramics, the number of pharmaceutical bottles recovered suggests much about the private lives and personal health and hygiene of the Indiana residents. The number found in Lot 13 speaks to the fact that personal health, and consequently the health of family members, was probably a dominant concern to nineteenth-century families.[90] Preserving health and preventing disease was clearly essential during this era of primitive medical knowledge and practices, not to mention the universal ignorance about hygiene, sanitation and disease causation. Self-medication was often all that could be had by most working-class and rural families, since the attention of a physician was either financially prohibitive or complicated by distance and isolation. Thus the development of self-help medicines was a common trend in the nineteenth century. In part that was underscored by the slogan "Every man his own physician", which was popularized in the 1820s, but continued to hold sway through to the end of the nineteenth century.[91] Beginning in the mid nineteenth century, the increasing numbers of people in cities, and the introduction of large-scale production, made profitable a patent medicine industry to treat those who were too skeptical, too isolated, or too poor to go to a doctor.[92]

One of the most interesting elements of medical care in the second half of the nineteenth century was premised on the idea that optimal health, or recovery

from illness, could only be attained if the individual managed to "de-civilize" and find ways to be simpler and cleaner. In other words, they were to replace those habits that were decadent and unhealthy with practices considered virtuous and clean.[93] The subtext was that optimal health necessitated withdrawal or at least distancing from urban-industrial life. Yet much of this theory was based in mythic notions about the healthy attributes of the countryside: in Indiana, as elsewhere in rural Ontario, an unsanitary water supply, and the noise and stench of the mills and factories, made the environment there little better than in larger and more industrialized towns and cities.

When and how someone would seek medical help from a doctor depended on a variety of circumstances, including whether they could afford it, whether it was available and accessible, and whether it was fairly common practice, and thereby expected of them.[94] Although it is difficult to ascertain the doctor-to-patient ratios across Ontario at this time, it is possible that Indiana was better-served than many rural communities, in that there were three doctors attending to the town's health needs in the 1860s and 1870s. All three physicians assisted the Thompsons and other local residents, although they did not actually live in Indiana themselves, but in nearby towns. Dr. Robert H. Davis lived in York and listed himself as a druggist as well as a physician between 1864 and 1878.[95] Dr. Jacob Baxter and Dr. Barry Baxter were a father and son from Cayuga who served the Thompsons from 1858 to 1877. Jacob Baxter was also a local Member of Provincial Parliament, and was described as a surgeon on the Thompson invoices.[96]

In spite of the presence of doctors in Indiana, for most of the nineteenth century, the most common health-care provider was the wife and mother of a family. Most women collected recipes meant to treat a variety of common ailments.[97] Perhaps due to the advice of doctors, or because women were accustomed to treating any number of maladies afflicting their families, it is probable that the use of bottled medicines in Indiana was common. In fact, there were 56 shards or parts of bottles that represented at minimum 23 different pharmaceutical bottles recovered from Lot 13. Since the site was only known to have been inhabited between 1871, when James Lees purchased the lot from the Haldimand Navigation Company, and 1878, when he forfeited his mill and lot back to the Thompsons, it can reasonably be assumed that the family was very concerned about its members' health over the seven years of their residence.[98] Since the wife and mother was traditionally the main health care provider, it is likely that Jane was the one who handed out whatever medicines or tinctures were needed.

While it would be interesting and historically valuable to identify and date the bottles unearthed on Lot 13, there were countless vessels manufactured in Ontario from the mid-nineteenth century through the 1920's, making individual identification problematic.[99] To assist in bottle identification there are clues that indicate the date of each technological change in bottle production, thereby allowing for approximate date ranges within which a bottle might have been produced.[100] Each of the basic features of a bottle--the mouth, lip, collar, neck, shoulder, body, base and the basal edge, therefore provides clues about how

they were made and when:[101] The colour of the bottle might also indicate when it was likely manufactured .[102]

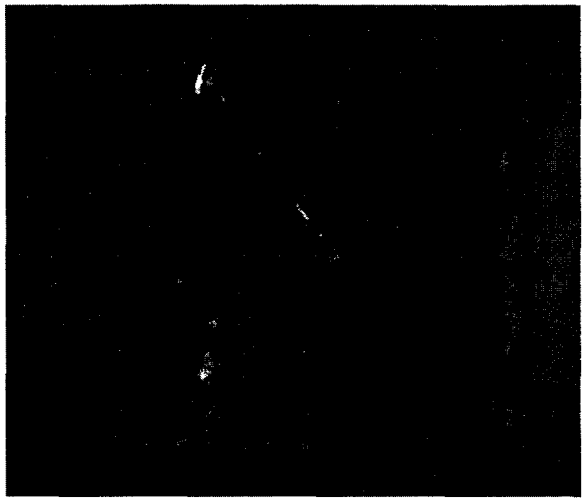


Figure 6D: Bottle parts excavated on Lot 13, unit 8.5S:117W

When only pieces of bottle glass are recovered, it is more difficult to assess its age. Moreover, even if one can determine exactly when the technology was introduced, there are still problems such as how long it took bottle manufacturers to accept new innovations in bottles, lag time in distribution and the ambiguous nature of some of the technological changes, all of which prohibit an exact date for the bottle's use.[103] In addition, during financially challenging times, bottles were commonly kept and re-used.[104] Another complication of identification is the practice by most local druggists during the 19th and early 20th century of concocting their own medicinal compounds, to sell from their stores in a variety of pharmaceutical bottles.[105] Duncan Cameron, of Cayuga, was such a druggist in 1872.[106]

The pharmaceutical bottles uncovered nonetheless exhibit a few common attributes that might provide information about the residents of Lot 13. For example, aqua bottles with very typical Pontil scars were utility type bottles that

date from the mid 1800s.[107] Eleven (47.8%) of the bottles on Lot 13 were aqua and four had Pontil scars, which provides a possible date for at least some of these bottles. However, the aqua colouring was the most common for all mouth blown pharmaceutical bottles in the nineteenth century, defying assumptions that they can all be dated to a specific timeframe.[108] Pharmaceutical bottles were also commonly rectangular glass with beveled corners and one or more indented panels; this type was made between the 1850s and the 1920s.[109] There were three bottles with paneled sides in the assemblage from Lot 13, but apart from the date range corresponding to the timeframe of the known residents on Lot 13, not much else can be said about those bottles' origins.

Several pharmaceutical bottles had raised letters on them, but only two were intact enough to allow for an investigation into their origins. One bottle had the letters "RRR Radway & Co, New York" on one side and "...GRESS" on the other. Researching this information brought to light that the incomplete side of the bottle had originally read "ACT OF CONGRESS". The contents of the bottle were *Radway's Ready Relief*, an "Anodyne Nervine and Pain Killer". The product was introduced in 1848 as a liniment for external and internal pain.[110] The ingredients were said to be "an ethereal tincture of capsicum, with alcohol and camphor."[111] The product was said to relieve the following ailments: "rheumatism, neuralgia, gout, sciatica, nervousness, fever and ague, indigestion, small pox, measles, cramps, spasms, lumbago, headache, heart disease, female complaints: retention, suppressions or misplaced menstruation; urinal organs:

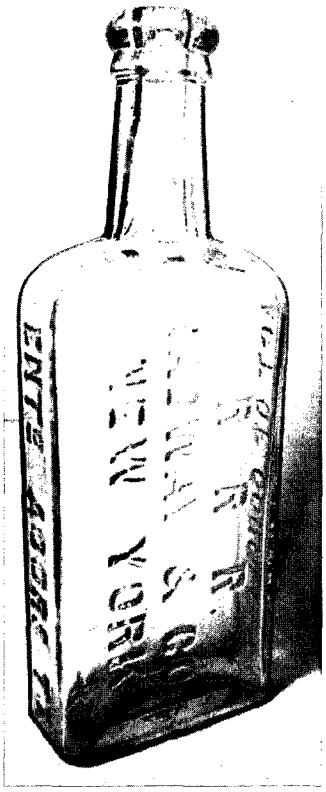


Figure 6E: Radway Pharmaceutical Bottle; image obtained from the internet (EBay)

diseases of the kidney, bladder, urethra, weakness, spermatorrhea, pains, aches, spasms in the back, hips and thighs etc." The advertisement claimed that the medicine would "insure a more positive and rapid cure than any known treatment in vogue," and that patients were welcome at Dr. Radway's medical office at No. 87 Maiden Lane, New York. The "cure", however, could be obtained, in 1861, through pharmacists in "every village and town and city in the United States, Canada's and the British provinces. Price: 25 cents".[112] By 1873 it was advertised at fifty cents per bottle.[113] The medicine remained available and in circulation between 1848 and 1928. Clearly many people believed it had some medicinal value as it lasted as a product for eighty years.

It is probable that the Lees acquired the medicine locally, perhaps from Duncan Cameron in Cayuga, or possibly Mary Lees, daughter to James and nurse in the Thompson household, may have obtained the medicines for her own family through the Thompsons. Mary earned $4 per month in 1873, making the cost of fifty cents for Radway's Remedy comparatively high.[114] What is certain is that all of the known purchases by the Lees family, according to store records, were related to domestic activities such as cooking and housekeeping, for example, flour, chop, corn meal, screening, bran and unnamed sundries. The purchase of the medicine was never directly mentioned, although it could have been included in the latter category.[115] Therefore it is impossible to follow the trail backwards directly, from disposal to the end-user, to seller, to producer.[116] Moreover, given the long list of maladies the medicine was supposed to cure, there is no way to know which ailment the Lees were taking the medicine for or who in the family was taking it.

Also uncovered was a bottle imprinted with the word "BALSAM". Research revealed that the full inscription would have read "DR. SETH ARNOLD'S BALSAM", a medicine used for treating such intestinal ailments as cholera, dysentery and diarrhea, all fairly common due to ignorance about prevention and the lack of effective treatment, and potentially fatal due to the dehydration that could be incurred, especially in the young and elderly.[117] These diseases are associated with bacteria and micro-organisms due to unsanitary water supply, especially from August to November.[118] Balsam was only one among the firm's many medicines but it was the most popular.

Figure 6F: Advertisement for Dr. Seth Arnold's Balsam[119]

Dr. Arnold was president of his own laboratory and produced these medicines in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, beginning in 1864.[120] In 1906 the company sold "Arnold's Balsam" to Gilman Bros. in Boston.[121] Thus, this bottle indicates the date range 1864-1906; it could not have been deposited before 1864 but could have been discarded at any point after that date. As was the case with the Radway medicine bottle, it is unclear who would have taken the Balsam medication, although in this case it is easier to speculate why the medicine was being consumed. Since water-borne diseases were prevalent between August and November, we also have an idea as to the seasonal likelihood of its consumption.

While it was not possible to follow the historical trail of the bottles as closely as originally hoped, the bottles do allow for some insight into the diseases, discomforts and other physical ailments that might have affected Indiana residents during this period, as well as their methods of coping. These

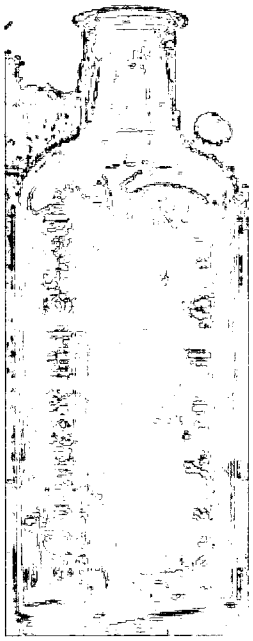


Figure 6G: Arnold bottle; image obtained from the internet (EBay)

bottles also hint at the vast continental trade networks in which the town participated, as the popular patent medicines were from the Eastern seaboard of the United States. The presence of so many medicine bottles in the archaeological record on Lot 13 also indicates that good health was important to the Lees' family, and that it was perhaps not always present in their household, in that they actively sought ways to ameliorate health problems. As was the case with access to physicians, however, access to such medicines was also class-based: both were probably financially out of the reach of the labourers' families except in dire circumstances, as a last resort.[122] Even Mary Lees, with steady employment as the Thompsons' private nurse, would not likely have been able to continue to pay, for any extended time, 1/8 of her monthly salary for medicine.[123]

viii. The Significance of Other Examples of Material Culture

As well as what can be gleaned about daily life from recovered tableware and pharmaceutical bottles the refuse that residents left behind provides useful evidence. Next to the Kitchen Group of artifacts, the Architectural Group comprised the second largest category for the West Field, representing 27.6% of the total assemblage across the entire area. The latter group contained 10 artifact categories: brick, ceramic pipe, mortar, plaster, slate, stone, wood, miscellaneous hardware, nails and spikes, and window glass. By a significant margin, the largest of these was that of nails and spikes, representing 44.7% of the architectural items. The second largest category was window glass, at 29.7% of the total, followed by brick at 16.6%. Altogether, these three categories represent 91% of the artifacts in the larger architectural category, and can be seen to provide an overview of the nature and condition of housing in Indiana.[124] The architecture on the West Field began as frame construction (as noted in chapter 3), but it is clear that brick with mortar and plaster were also part of the housing landscape in Indiana, probably first attributable to the operations of James Hill's company, founded in 1866. Bricks were not the only construction materials used as there was also evidence of lumber on all three lots, although on a small scale. Glass windows and slate roofs, both expensive features, were also present in West Field housing. Eventually, when Indiana began its decline, the architectural materials were salvaged and used elsewhere; the archaeological landscape, as a result, is now somewhat devoid of physical structures. A number of artifacts have nonetheless been excavated that can

attest to the fact that certain buildings were constructed and inhabited in the 1860's and 1870s on the West Field.

The Native Group of artifacts, which is comprised solely of chert in various forms, was the fourth largest group of artifacts.[125] The existence of a large quantity of chert suggests a strong presence of Natives in the West Field, probably at some point in time prior to the construction of the Lock at Indiana.[126] Stone tools are made by a Reductive technique whereby flakes are removed from raw material, which is reduced in size and is shaped.[127] The most common objects produced in this manner are projectile points, but the list of items created using chert also includes, but is not limited to: hammerstones, scrapers, awls and corers.[128] What was unexpected was that the Native component in the West Field was limited to only one artifact category, chert. Native pottery and Native smoking pipes for example, were completely missing as artifact categories. Thus, in spite of the long history of Natives in the area that became Indiana, the lack of variety in the Native Group of artifacts strongly suggests that it was occupied by Hunters-Gatherers, not settled communities of Indians. Further, the lack of other Native artifacts provides strong evidence that the long house and surrounding area, was used for ceremonial purposes and not as a living space.[129]

Probably the most intriguing category of artifacts contains those of a personal nature.[130] The largest quantity and variety of personal items were located on Lot 13, where 158 artifacts, ranging from doll dishes, to a watch cover, to belt buckles, were found. In Lot 14, there were 11 artifacts in this category and Lot 15 contained 7 artifacts. The Personal Group findings demonstrate that the

activities of the residents included agriculture, as an intact hoe and a hitch were unearthed. A small hammer, 5 inches long, was excavated on Lot 13, and on Lot 14 a large horseshoe was found on Lot 14. Other artifacts that speak to the activities that once took place on the site include a scraper assessed as a cleaning implement, a bale and twine, and spigots; the latter were also unearthed on Lot 15. The spigots could have been used to dispense any number of liquids, including alcohol, vinegar, cider or maple syrup.[131]

Every site in the West Field also revealed writing instruments. On Lot 13, thirteen slate pencil pieces found, as well as an ink bottle made from Derbyshire stoneware. Lot 14 had two slate pencils and Lot 15 had one piece of a pencil. Although it is unclear who owned or used these pencils, four of James and Jane Lees' children, James II (age 17), Mary (age 12), John (age 8) and Jane (age 6) attended school in 1871, when the Lees owned Lots 13 and 14.[132] The pencils were likely part of their school supplies, and they may have been the primary users of these items.

It is always enlightening when artifacts indicate the presence of children on a site. Toys are of particular interest because they are often the sole archaeological indicator of children's lives. On Lot 13, 3 pieces from a child's porcelain dish set were found. Two pieces fit together to form part of a tiny tea cup, while the remaining piece is also clearly part of a tiny tea set. On Lot 14 a toy iron was found, and that too probably belonged to a young girl. A gaming piece found on Lot 13, on the other hand, could have belonged to anyone. It was a jack that was star shaped on a three-dimensional plane and roughly 1½ inches

from point to point. The fact that these are the only items regarding play, children and leisure that were found in the West Field suggests that the family had time to clear out most of their own private possessions when the lots were abandoned.

Also found on Lot 13 were two pieces of jewelry, among the most personal of belongings that probably belonged to women. The first was a gold heart-shaped pendant, 5/8" across; the second was a possible cameo, gilt plated and quite intricate in design. Lot 13 also presented a somewhat bewildering artifact that appears to be a watch cover made of tin, embossed with a whimsical image of a dog and a cat. The words that encircled this image, "Dignity and Impudence", typified the Victorian middle-class penchant for aphorisms and symbols representing qualities of character worthy of developing, as well as their inverse, those to avoid, as a reminder of what was might await any who fell from virtue. Personal decorative objects such as these, in short, further support conclusions about the class, taste, and status distinctions to which these Indiana residents adhered, or at least aspired to.

In total, 48 buttons were recovered across all three lots, constituting the largest quantity of any one personal item found. The majority of the buttons, 34 in all, were excavated from Lot 13. A detailed study of these buttons would be instructive about the costs, fashion trends, trade networks and manufacturing of such goods, Also revealing in this respect are the only other personal items classified as clothing and accessories, which were the 5 heels and 16 boot or shoe grommets found on Lot 13. The heels appear to be the only leather elements of the shoes to have survived, likely due to the thickness of their layers

and the fact that they were so tightly nailed together.[133] They were also typical of mid-nineteenth century hand-made heels. Evidence that they were made without the aid of machinery is found in the distribution of nails, all of which appear to have been modern machine nail heads.[134]

All told, the artifacts excavated on the West Field provide tiny but vital glimpses into the items purchased and put to use by the residents and consequently something of the elusive ordinary moments of their daily lives. The artifacts tell us that, in general they lived in housing that was made of brick and wood. We know such fundamental details as the facts that they had slate on their roofs and glass in their windows, that they all purchased a variety of ceramics for entertaining and for their own use, and that their personal belongings pointed to such known Victorian traits as the widespread use of patent medicines and a taste for decorative items that featured such "typical" designs as hearts, cameos and reminders of virtuous behaviour.

As archaeologists Stephen Mrozowski, James Delle and Robert Paynter have observed the artifacts associated with architecture, clothing, table settings, food and landscape all provide information about the class identity and status aspirations of the residents, as well as helping to identify prevailing ideas about gender, race, and age.[135] On the West Field, the data confirms that the residents embraced a middle-class identity. On a personal level, we know that the Lees family had young children who had fancy toys, that they owned nice tableware and jewelry, and that they were concerned about their health. Additionally, there is evidence that they took care of animals and that they gardened. In other

words, the Lees family fit the profile of the rural family that Darroch described, but, because James Lees owned and operated the carding and fulling mill, the family can also be said to have demonstrated certain characteristics of the urban industrial bourgeoisie. Thus the artifactual evidence reinforces the notion that the Indiana was a rural-industrial environment that was fairly representative of the incipient modernization taking place in mid-to-late nineteenth century Ontario.

This chapter has considered the ways in which class might be discussed, within the socioeconomic setting specific to nineteenth-century Indiana, by means of a material culture framework borrowed from archaeology that focused on the artifact assemblage excavated in the West Field. The historical understanding of class as a relational concept means that it is necessary to look for points of comparison within and across the various social groups resident there during the years examined. While recognizing that three lots constitute a very small sampling of the 117 house lots in Indiana, it is evident that there were few relative positional differences between the inhabitants in the West Field. [136] It is probable that James Lees, as a mill owner, and Alexander Mitchell as an employed miller, were two of the highest earners, and that their affluence meant that they were expected to be leaders in the community.[137] Similarly, when Michael White purchased the cooperage associated with Ruthven Mill, he too would have an elevated position in Indiana society, as first the manager and then the owner of an important manufactory. The families of these men would have been endowed with the same social distinction and expectations as their male heads.

The residents of the West Field certainly were not on the financial level of the Thompson family, but they were also not in the unfortunate position that their children had to work for wages to uphold a meager family economy, instead of attending school, such as was the case for the families living in shanty towns on the canals that were discussed in Chapter 3 and the Irish families discussed in Chapter 5. From a scalar perspective, it is possible to say that the residents of the West Field were somewhere in the middle of these two examples of wealth and poverty, hence identifiably middle class. Interpreting the evidence from the West Field from a functional position, there does not appear to have been a division of labour between the various residents, as most of them worked in, or owned, mills. The available evidence, material and documentary, show that the residents shared a similar socioeconomic status, not surprising since they shared a common neighbourhood in Indiana, during a time when residential stratification defined by class and race was customary.

It is also possible to view these Indiana residents as people in social motion, as Burley has argued with regard to Brantford during this time. There is little doubt that, in the end, none of the male household heads resident in the West Field was financially successful on any lasting basis. Michael White forfeited the cooperage and his personal property to the Thompsons in 1870. James Lees lost his mill to a flood in 1878 and likewise forfeited all of his property to them. Only Alexander Mitchell managed to hold on to his property in order to sell it.[138] Thus, although this material culture analysis permitted a small window to open into their family lives during the period when they owned

property in Indiana, showing something of that relatively successful life-stage, like Indiana itself, their personal and family histories rose and fell in accordance with some of the most volatile years of the town's own history.

The discussion in this chapter required a close reading of the personal, domestic and economic information that could be derived from the material culture made available through an archaeological exploration of Indiana. The following chapter will broaden the examination of this industrializing town to consider how the layered evidence can address such questions as how a case study of Indiana can further historical understanding of the interrelations of family, industry and community; why Indiana failed after such a promising start, and despite the survival of similar neighbouring towns; and to what extent its particular trajectory might be regarded as representative of other such towns in industrializing Ontario.

Endnotes

[1] Paul R Mullins, "Racializing the Parlor: Race and Victorian Bric-a-Brac Consumption", *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, (ed.) Charles E Orser Jr., (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2001), 158.

[2] The term "material culture" considers more than just the physical attributes of an artifact. The term implies a consideration of the complex, multiple and shifting contexts through which it acquires meaning. For a fuller explanation of this concept see: Karen Harvey "Practical Matters", (ed.) Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2009), 3.

[3] David G. Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

[4] Mark Leone and Parker B Potter, "Preface", (eds.) Mark P. Leone, and Parker B. Potter Jr., *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism,* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 1999), vii.

[5] Peter A Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada 1815-1840*, Canadian Studies, Volume 6, (Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 5.

[6] The issue of social mores and values was discussed in Chapter 5; for a fuller examination of gender roles and propriety, see: Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[7] Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 19-20.

[8] Burley, 1994, 7.

[9] Burley, 1994, 12.

[10] Burley, 1994, 239.

[11] Heather Burke *Meaning and Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Style, Social Identity and Capitalism in an Australian Town*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 1999), ix.

[12] Burke, 1999, 67.

[13] Information about Thompson's can be found in Chapter 1.

[14] Gordon Darroch, "Scanty fortunes and rural middle-class formation in nineteenth century Ontario", *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 79, No. 4, (Dec. 1998), 622 and 628.

[15] Darroch, 1998, 629.

[16] As noted in Chapter 2, I have recorded a total of 1115 individuals who had ties to Indiana but were not included in the overall population related to Indiana. Generally, they were farmers, merchants and mill owners from surrounding rural environs or nearby small towns.

[17] For a detailed discussion of this topic, see: Diana DiZerega Wall, *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America*, (New York: Plenum Press, 1994), particularly Chapters 5 and 6; see also Matthew M Palus and Paul A Shackel *They Worked Regular: Craft,*

Labor and Family in the Industrial Community of Virginius Island, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 104.

[18] During the 2006 field school, I had the opportunity to speak to the students about my work and to observe the excavations. Since 2006 another Field school has been conducted in 2008 but the results of that field school were not available for this dissertation. However, the reports and artifacts associated with the first two field schools were made available to me through Dr. John Triggs, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario.

[19] See: *Plan of the Village of Indiana in the Township of Seneca, County of Haldimand*, certified on March 4 1869 and registered Jan 18, 1870. Map found: Registry office, Cayuga Ontario,

[20] See for example, *Victoria Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Canada*, Head Office, Hamilton, Ontario, February 1, 1877, attic pigeonhole 32A, #5 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga; William Carrol of Caledonia who was a provincial surveyor produced the sketch in 1846 and it was subsequently registered in 1862, artifact room, metal trunk, 10, #1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[21] Invoice from Thos Shipway, who built the sidewalk, April 1862, attic pigeonhole 10AB, #63 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; Note: the Side Walk was built by Thos Shipway and measured by AM Kinnear on 23 April, 1862. The measurement included 144 feet on "Church Street" – a name that is missing on all maps of the town but since the road ran between the two churches, it is assumed that is the reason the road was referred to in that way.

[22] For further information see *Appendix A: Biographies of Indiana residents.*

[23] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[24] An example of this is found in a map drawn of Sim's Lock, which is the next settlement, down river from Indiana, that the Grand River Navigation Company built a lock. In 1900 Bert Baker, a local resident, was asked about what the town looked like. Based on a drawing that was compiled, and on his description, it is clear that the houses were very close to the road. See: Thomas A Kenyon and Ian T Kenyon, "Bert Baker's Recollections of Sim's Lock Canal Circa 1900", *Nineteenth Century Notes*, *KEWA*, 2008.

[25] John R Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 118.

[26] Eva M MacDonald, "The Root of the Scatter: Nineteenth Century Artifact and Settlement Patterns in Rural Ontario", *Ontario Archaeology*, No. 64, (1997), 59.

[27] John Triggs, *Archaeological Investigations at the Village of Indiana, (AfGx – 120),* Wilfrid Laurier Field School Report for 2006, July 2008, *Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga, Ontario.*

[28] The Reports, authored by Dr. John Triggs, and all artifacts for the 2004 and 2006 field schools, can be found in the Archaeology Department, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario.

[29] Stratigraphy originated with geology but it has been borrowed by archaeologists. The concept of stratigraphy begins with layers (or strata), that correspond to features on an archaeological site. The basic concept is that layers are laid down on top of one another, one at a time. It is assumed that the lower layers are older than the upper ones. While there are exceptions to that, for a variety of reasons, the important point here is that archaeologists attempt to systematically peel back each layer in order to discover what happened on a site and when. If artifacts can be isolated to particular layers then it is often possible to date the layer and the event with more

accuracy. In this study the only known habitation for Lots 13 and 14, for example, was between 1871 and 1878, thus a stratigraphic sequence to ascertain earliest to latest artifacts, would not have been worthwhile for such a short timeframe. Similarly, Lot 15 was inhabited for ten years by two different families, thus it was thought that detailed stratigraphy of such a short occupation would not have yielded significant results. For more information on stratigraphy, see: Edward Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, (London: Academic Press, 1989).

[30] MacDonald, 1997, 62.

[31] Obviously the excavation uncovered the remains of the plank sidewalk that had been installed in 1862 by Thomas Shipway, "from the upper church to the school house through the centre of the village and further if there be sufficient money". See: hand written document, TV room, Doc #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[32] The information on the 2004 excavation was gleaned from: Shan Ling "Indiana's West Field: A Statistical Analysis", Unpublished manuscript, Wilfrid Laurier University, September 2005.

[33] The equipment and expertise were borrowed from the University of Waterloo Geography Department.

[34] The term hot spot is used to indicate places where magnetic anomalies were present during the investigation.

[35] Provenience refers to the exact physical location where an artifact was found, as compared to provenance, which refers to the artifact's complete documented history.

[36] MacDonald, 1997, 60.

[37] MacDonald, 1997, 74. These categories are discussed in the next section "The Artifact Database and the Question of Context".

[38] Triggs, 2008, 69; MacDonald analyzed the artifact assemblages from fifteen rural house sites in her assessment of artifact patterns but she did suggest that her work should be open to scrutiny and comparative research. Indiana is apparently one site that did not fit her model.

[39] John Triggs *Indiana Excavation*, Wilfrid Laurier University Field School Report, 2006, 43 and 44.

[40] Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[41] Ian T. Kenyon "Weeds Upspring where the Hearth Should be: Rural House abandonment in Southern Ontario", *Ontario Archaeology*, No. 64, (1997), 48.

[42] Triggs, 2006, 69 and 44.

[43] Between 1872 and 1874 James Lees pastured a horse and/or cow for Thompson at various points in those years, *Indiana Day Book 1871-1877*, pp 62, 151 and 189, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[44] Karin Dannehl, "Object biographies: from production to consumption", (ed.) Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2009), 128.

[45] It must be stressed that the preceding list barely scratches the surface of what can be learned from the material culture that is left behind.

[46] Dannehl, 2009, 124-125.

[47] For another perspective on this topic see: Sara Pennell "Material Culture, micro-histories and the problem of scale", (ed.) Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2009), 175-177.

[48] George Miller, "Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics", *Historical Archaeology* Volume 14, (1980), 3-4.

[49] James Deetz, *Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American life*, (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 165.

[50] For more information see: Miller, 1980, 1-40; Stanley South, "Evolution and Horizon as Revealed in Ceramic Analysis in Historical Archaeology", *Conference on Historical Site Archaeology Papers*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, Volume 6, 1972), 71-116; Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to the Artifacts of Colonial America*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).

[51] Miller, 1980, 1.

[52] George Miller, "A Revised set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880", (ed.) David Brauner, *Approaches to Material Culture Research fro Historical Archaeologists*, (Pennsylvania: Society for Historical Archaeology, 2000), 90.

[53] Ian Kenyon, "Some General Notes on 19th century ceramics", *Nineteenth Century Notes,* KEWA, London Chapter OAS, 2008.

[54] Deetz, 1996, 70.

[55] Deetz, 1996, 72.

[56] Miller, 1980, 1.

[57] Miller, 1980, 4.

[58] Deetz, 1996, 75.

[59] This view was expressed by Ian Kenyon and Thomas Kenyon however they later conceded that for farmsteads, where the occupants wealth or social status can be inferred from historic records, there does seem to be the expected correlation between the type of wares found on a site and the household's economic rank. "Social Dimensions of Ceramic Use in Southwestern Ontario, 1814-1867", (Philadelphia: Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, 1982), 1.

[60] Suzanne M. Spence-Wood, "Introduction", (ed.) Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1987), 14.

[61] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, translated by Richard Nice, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 2.

[62] Margaret Purser, "Consumption as Communication in Nineteenth Century Paradise Valley, Nevada", (eds.) Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, *Meanings and Uses of Material Culture,* The Society for Historical Archaeology, Volume 26, Number 3, (1992), 107.

[63] Anne Yentsch, "Engendering Visible and Invisible Ceramic Artifacts, Especially Dairy Vessels", *Historical Archaeology*, Volume 25, Number 4, (1991), 143.

[64] Miller 1980, 1-4.

[65] Miller 1980, 12.

[66] Miller, 1980, 5.

[67] Ian Kenyon and Susan Kenyon "Household Ceramic Stocks in Mid-19th Century Ontario", KEWA, (London: London Chapter Ontario Archaeological Society, 1993), 5.

[68] The term *enamelled* refers to paint that is applied on top of a glaze. The term *painted* refers to underglaze decoration. With this sort of tableware, the painting is done prior to glazing. The production of this type of ceramics was refined in Staffordshire after 1772 when blue paints were introduced. In 1775 the industry copied Chinese styles on earthenware in response to tariffs that were placed on the import of Chinese porcelain. In the 1820s blue painted tea wares with floral motifs became popular and by the 1830s new colours were added such as red, black and lighter shades of blue and green. Large painted polychrome motifs became popular during the 1870s. Another style known as flow-painted wares in blues and purples appear from the 1840s to the 1870s; Miller, 2000, 93.

[69] In actual fact it is a pattern rather than a ware type. By 1814 it was already the cheapest available transfer ware in the potters' price fixing lists. It remained so for the rest of the nineteenth century. This style was the earliest underglaze printed pattern developed in Staffordshire. Willow was only one of many transfer printed wares. Decorations began with Chinese patterns but others were quickly added that include English and foreign landscapes and American scenes following the war of 1812. By the 1830s romantic scenes were introduced; Miller, 1980, 3.

[70] Miller produced charts of revised ceramic index numbers in 1991. Miller, 1991, 97-107.

[71] Miller, 1980, 4; the method of calculation for Miller's approach is twofold. The first step is to separate the wares into the various levels according to decoration. The second step is to take the frequencies of each ware type and multiply them by the corresponding number for each level, 1-4. Once that is done, the sum of the previous calculations is determined and then the total is divided by the original frequency total. This calculation allows for a single figure, referred to as the CC index.

[72] See *Appendix I: Miller's CC Index for the West Field.*

[73] Kenyon and Kenyon, 1993, 5.

[74] Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, (New York: Academic Press, 1977); "Evolution and Horizon as Revealed in Ceramic Analysis in Historical Archaeology", *Conference on Historical Site Archaeology Papers*, Volume 6, (Columbia University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 71-116.

[75] South, 1972, 71-116. The methodology in computing the date begins with counting all the fragments of each type from a site. The mean manufacturing date for each type of ceramic is determined and the mean date is multiplied by the number of fragments for each type. An average of mean dates is determined and the date that results should reflect the date after which the site was occupied.

[76] Sarah H Hill, "An Examination of Manufacture-Deposition Lag for Glass Bottles from Late Historic Sites", In *Archaeology of Urban America*, (ed.) Roy S. Dickens Jr., (Academic Press: New York), 292.

[77] Linda H Worthy, "Classification and Interpretation of Late Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century Ceramics", *Archaeology of Urban America*, (ed.) Roy S. Dickens Jr., (Academic Press: New York), 329-360.

[78] See *Appendix K – Mean Ceramic Dates, Lot 13, 2006; Appendix L – Mean Ceramic Dates, Lot 14, 2006; Appendix M – Mean Ceramic Dates, Lot 15, 2006.*

[79] Kenyon and Kenyon, 1982, 4; Douglas McCalla has written a number of articles on store accounts and consumerism in Upper Canada. See for example: "Seeing pioneers as modern: rural Upper Canadians go shopping", *Temps, espace et modernités. Mélanges offerts à Serge Courville et Normand Séguin*, Brigitte Caulier et Yvan Rousseau dirs (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2009), 137-50; "A World Without Chocolate: Grocery Purchases at Some Upper Canadian Country Stores, 1808-61," *Agricultural History*, 79, (2005), 147-72; "Textile Purchases by Some Ordinary Upper Canadians, 1808-1861," *Material History Review*, 53 (spring-summer, 2001), 4-27: "Retailing in the Countryside: Upper Canadian General Stores in the Mid-19th Century," *Business and Economic History*, 26: 2 (winter, 1997), 393-403.

[80] See for example: *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp. 213 and 232, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[81] See *Appendix J: CE Bourne, Merchant.*

[82] See *Appendix C: Average wages in Indiana per day, per decade.*

[83] The Blotter is located amongst the Thompson Papers at Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[84] *Indiana Blotter 1: 1858-1860*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[85] On Lot 15, which could be associated with either the White's or the Mitchell's, 3 pieces of smoking pipes were located on 42S:85W and 46S:85W in the 2006 excavations plus 27 pieces of smoking pipes, 4 buttons and a thimble were located during the 2004 excavations, most of which were found in G/K and N, almost all in lot 2.

[86] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 18, 170 and 210, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[87] *Indiana Day Book A, 1854-1860*, pp. 20, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[88] *Receivables and Payables Journal 1856-1872*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[89] As noted in Chapter 3, entertaining was an integral part of social life in Indiana.

[90] Lot 13 was the only lot that had pharmaceutical bottles located during excavations.

[91] Anita Clair Fellman and Michael Fellman *Making Sense of Self: Medical Advice Literature in Late Nineteenth Century America*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 7.

[92] Fellman and Fellman, 1981, 9.

[93] Fellman and Fellman, 1981, 29.

[94] Wendy Mitchinson, *The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 4.

[95] He was listed in two separate journals of the Thompsons both of which covered the years he was acting as a physician. However, Robert H Davis was in and out of Indiana between 1842 and 1894. He was a local magistrate and a Sheriff. He also eventually purchased property in Indiana in 1894. See: *Indiana Petty Ledger 1862-1870*; *General Journal 1870-1877*; attic pigeonhole 1, #1; attic pigeonhole 56, # 79 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; 1867 Gazetteer, County Haldimand; 1842 Seneca Plan and 1891 Census Record for Haldimand County.

[96] Jacob was the Thompson's personal physician. See: *General Journal 1870-1877*; Attic pigeonhole 33A, #29, front; attic pigeonhole 61A, #13 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[97] Mitchinson, 1991, 20; Errington, 1995, Part 1.

[98] It is possible that the site had been inhabited by individuals who leased the land prior to the Lees' purchase of Lots 13 and 14 but there isn't any documentary evidence to support that idea For more information on James Lees, see *Appendix A: Biographies of Indiana Residents.*

[99] Richard E Fike, *The Bottle Book: A Comprehensive Guide to Historic Embossed Medicine Bottles*, (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Press, 1987).

[100] See: Gail S Firebaugh "An Archaeologist's Guide to the Historical Evolution of Glass Bottle Technology", *Southwestern Lore*, Colorado Archaeological Society, Vol. 49, No. 2, (June 1983), 11.

[101] John R. White, "Bottle Nomenclature: A Glossary of Landmark Terminology for the Archaeologist", *Approaches to Material Culture Research for Historic* Archaeologists, (ed.) David R Brauner, (Pennsylvania: Society for Historical Archaeology, 2000), 139-148; Olive Jones "Glass Bottle Push-Ups and Pontil Marks", *Approaches to Material Culture Research for Historic* Archaeologists, (ed.) David R Brauner, (Pennsylvania: Society for Historical Archaeology, 2000), 149-160.

[102] Various additives were included with sand or silica to produce coloured bottle glass at different points in time. See: Firebaugh, 1983, 25.

[103] Firebaugh, 1983, 28.

[104] Jane Busch "Second Time Around: A Look at Bottle Reuse", *Approaches to Material Culture Research for Historic* Archaeologists, (ed.) David R Brauner, (Pennsylvania: Society for Historical Archaeology, 2000), 175.

[105] Ron Feldhaus, T*he Bottles, Breweriana and Advertising Jugs of Minnesota 1850-1920, Volume 2: Whiskey, Druggist, Medicine,* Minnesota's First Antique Bottle Club and North Star Historical Bottle Collectors Association, 1987.

[106] Duncan Cameron was listed in the 1867 Gazetteer for Haldimand County as a Druggist on King Street in Cayuga but the only reference to the Thompson's utilizing his expertise was in 1872; *Gazetteer and Directory of the Counties of Haldimand and Brant,* (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 95; Thompson purchased various "drugs", as was noted on the back of his invoice in 1872. Attic pigeonhole 61A, #16 Front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[107] A Pontil scar is a mark left on the base of a bottle by a rod that was securely attached to the hot blown bottle. The purpose of the Pontil was to hold the bottle during the various stages of the glass making process. When the bottle was finished, the rod was tapped until it broke free of the bottle. The mark left by the rod is often diagnostic and can reveal information about the production of the bottle. See: "Glassmaking and Glass Makers", Historic Glass Bottle Identification and Information Website, Society for Historic Archaeology, Rockville, MD.

[108] Fike, 1987, 3-17.

[109] Information obtained August 4, 2008: http://www.sha.org/bottle/medicinal.htm

[110] George Griffen Hagen, and Mary Bogard *A History of Drug Containers and their Labels*, (American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, Publication #17, 1999), 82.

[111] William B Dick, "Patent and Proprietary Medicines, Part 20," *Encyclopedia of Practical Receipts and Processes*, (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald Publishers, 1872), #5335.

[112] December 4, 1863, Advertisement in the *New York Times*; October 23, 1861, advertisement in the *New York Times*.

[113] United States Centennial Commission, *Official Catalogue: Complete in One Volume*, (Philadelphia: JR Nagle and Son, 1876), 221.

[114] There were numerous references to Mary Lees working for the Thompsons. She began at $4/month in 1873 but eventually earned $7/month by 1877. Her wages were paid to her mother directly according to the Thompson journals. See: *General Journal 1870-1877*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[115] As already discussed, Kenyon and Kenyon, 1982, noted that most account books show the debits and credits for customers in shops but the purchases were commonly not specified.

[116] In examining all journals and documents related to Indiana stores one of the unfortunate missing elements are people's names. Each merchant listed things they sold but seldom to whom. Even the journals that list the client by name, James Lees for instance, it seldom gives much detail. For example: *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 89 and 249; the *Indiana Cash Book 1858-1864* regularly listed James Lees as buying things "on acct" but it didn't say what he bought. He also sold Thompson apples and he purchased lumber from Thompson, *Indiana Day Book 1871-1877*, pp 96, 158, 169, and 173, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[117] Information obtained August 4, 2008: http://www.littlerhodybottleclub.org

[118] Thomas McKeown and RG Record, "Reasons for the Decline of Mortality in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century", *Population Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (Nov. 1962), 96; John Douglas, assistant surgeon in a British battalion during the war of 1812, wrote a book on medicine in 1819. He said that most of the settlements in Upper Canada were along waterways, many of which were "oozy streams and stagnating rivers". Further, he stated "in certain seasons of the year, namely late summer, they contribute materially to the production of sickness. Michael Flannery, an American historian, looked at medical care during the civil war. The pertinent part of his work here was found in his assertion that a soldier was twice as likely to die in the base camp as on the battlefield, from diseases such as diarrhea and dysentery, as well as malaria, typhoid and assorted camp fevers. Flannery stated that these diseases were the result of "bacterial, amebic, and parasitic infections from tainted water and food supplies." Such was the case at Indiana as people were self-medicating for similar ailments. See: Flannery, Michael A *Civil War Pharmacy: A History of Drugs, Drug Supply and Provision, and Therapeutics for the Union and Confederacy*, (New York and London: Pharmaceutical Products Press, 2004), 22, 124-125.

[119] Accessed from: www.digitial.lib.muohio.edu/?u/tradecards.2564.

[120] Information obtained August 4, 2008: http://www.littlerhodybottleclub.org.

[121] Information obtained August 7, 2009: www.littlerhodybottleclub.org/research/arnold.

[122] For further information on medical care in the nineteenth century see: Jacalyn Duffin *History of Medicine: a scandalously short introduction*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); *Langstaff: a Nineteenth-century Medical Life*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

[123] It is possible that Mary was given the medicine by the Thompson's although the Thompson records do not indicate she was given preferential treatment or charity.

[124] A close examination of exactly where nails, brick and other architectural artifacts were located is strong evidence for the location of houses or other buildings on the town lots.

[125] Chert is a term that is used as a catch-all for a wide variety of stones that have the characteristic that when struck, usually by another stone but sometimes using other tools, they fracture in a uniform manner.

[126] Robert J Sharer and Wendy Ashmore *Archaeology: Discovering our Past*, (California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1987), 259.

[127] See: David Hurst Thomas, *Archaeology*, (Forth Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1989).

[128] The Parks Canada Coding System for Artifacts lists a variety of tools used by most Native groups, See: *Database Artifact Inventory – Parks Canada Coding Guide.*

[129] See Chapter 5.

[130] The Parks Canada coding system is very limited in its definition of personal items. I have chosen to expand their definition because there were only 8 artifacts in the West Field in the personal category defined by the Parks Canada coding system. It made sense to add the Clothing Group and Activities Group to the discussion of personal items as these are the primary artifacts that may shed light on the individuals who lived in Indiana. Personal items, then, are here defined as anything that is privately used, owned and portable.

[131] It should not be assumed that the Lees' were drinking alcohol from these casks, in part because they were Presbyterians and therefore would have been preached to about the evils of alcohol, and in part because in all of the transactions that were written down between the Lees' and the Thompson businesses. I reviewed the large quantity of entries between the Lees' and the Thompson's in the journals and in the documents at Ruthven, and unlike many others, there wasn't a single mention of the purchase of alcohol by the Lees'.

[132] This information was obtained from the 1871 Census record for Haldimand County.

[133] For a general overview of the shoe industry see: Betty A Beach "The Family Context of Home Shoe Work" *Homework: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Paid Labor at Home*, (eds.) Eileen Boris and Cynthia R. Daniels, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 130-146; Mary H Blewett "Work, Gender and the Artisan Tradition in New England and Shoemaking, 1780-1860", *Journal of Social History*, Volume 17, Number 2, (1983), 221-248; Adrienne Anderson "The Archaeology of Mass-Produced Footwear", *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 2, (1968); Louis Orville Breithaupt, 100 Years of Progress, *Shoe and Leather Journal: Directory of Canadian Manufacturers of Footwear*, Volume 70, Number 3, (Don Mills: Hugh C. Maclean Publications Ltd., 1957).

[134] The nails were fairly evenly spaced but they ranged from 1/8" to ¼" apart. If the shoes were made using a nailing machine the nails would have been very evenly spaced. The first nailing machines were patented in 1862 and until then the nails were driven in by hand (Anderson, 1968, 58). These machines were not widely available in Canada until the 1870's. That information allows for another potential piece of information about when the site was inhabited.

[135] Stephen Mrozowski, James A Delle and Robert Paynter "Introduction", *Lines that Divide: The Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class and Gender*, (eds.) Delle, Mrozowski and Paynter, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), xviii.

[136] Without having further archaeological data on other house lots in the town, comparisons are limited to the three lots that have had the most archaeological activity in 2004 and 2006.

[137] This point was noted in Chapter 4.

[138] For further information on all the residents of the West Field, see *Appendix A: Biographies of Indiana Residents.*

Chapter 7 - The Rise and Fall of Indiana: The Town and the Larger Community

Having focused on some of the specific social and cultural issues confronting Indiana to this point, this chapter will take a broader perspective to consider how the evidence presented thus far can address wider questions about Indiana and the larger community surrounding it. The central questions that underlie this dissertation as a whole: why, and how, did other towns along the Grand River survive the tumult of industrialization while Indiana, despite all its early promise, failed? What can a historical reconstruction of a town such as Indiana, supported by select archaeological evidence of its material culture, tell us about the development of rural industrialization in Upper Canada? How can a town that has been lost to history and human memory become reanimated in such a way as to further our historical understanding of familial and community life? To what extent can such a town be seen to be representative of other settlements also undergoing the changes entailed by incipient industrialization in nineteenth-century Upper Canada/Ontario?

i. Indiana's Fortunes: Why Did the Town Fail?

In asking why a town failed, there is little doubt that, with the benefit of historical research and the assessment that the passage of time permits, there are probably any number of plausible explanations that can be brought to light. In the case of Indiana, two obvious impediments to the town's continued success and existence are found in the fact that, first, the railroad bypassed the town in

the 1860s in favour of nearby Cayuga, and, second, the Grand River Navigation Company was bankrupt by June 1861.[1] The 1860s also brought larger problems over which the town and its wider community had no control and little option except to hope to endure, in the form of inflation, falling commodity prices, blight, market dislocation and a global depression affecting the western world.[2] Yet, the town managed to continue to grow through the 1860s and even into the early 1870's before beginning its rapid descent. Hence the reasons for this decline are more complex than the transportation and trade issues alone, as vital as those were in contributing to Indiana's ultimate demise.

Some early industrial towns appear to have fallen into obscurity because many entrepreneurs were intent on harvesting natural resources, or staples, by means of mining and timber cutting, usually with little thought to their finite nature. Once the supplies were depleted, so too were the profits and consequently the entire point of investment and employment; their departure could not help but bring down the communities that depended on these operations as they moved on. There is little doubt that, from the 1830s through to the 1860s, the lush forests around Indiana had been cut beyond rapid replenishment by those intent on shipping lumber to other developing markets.[3] Without lumber to process and sell, there was little to keep people employed in Indiana, especially those directly involved in the trade, the lumbermen and saw millers. Both saw mill owners in Indiana, John Rogers and Thomas Lester, had shut down their operations by 1869.[4] Because many people were employed in other lines of work, however, other factors must have contributed to the town's

failure. As Douglas McCalla has argued, "focusing on staples alone yields an oversimplified and fundamentally inaccurate view of the process of economic development in Upper Canada."[5]

The Thompson family's own history suggests a partial explanation as well. In a town such as Indiana, small, newly-settled and in the early stages of industrialization, the finances of the inhabitants are obviously closely tied to the wealthy individuals who employ them. As noted in Chapter 1, David Thompson II did not have his father's entrepreneurial vision, and did not embark on as many large scale projects. Even the projects that Thompson II undertook were not very successful. Yet it appears that Thompson II was at least intent on following closely in the footsteps of his father. In other words, he did what his father had done: he built and re-built dams and mills that were dependent on water power. In replicating his father's path to financial success, however, Thompson II did not act when technological innovation brought about more efficient forms of power that were not as dependent on water and seasonality. Unlike his father, consequently, he was not on the leading edge of adopting new technologies at a time when financial success was increasingly dependent on this process of on-going adaptation and innovation. A number of letters and pamphlets describing the virtues of steam power were found among the younger Thompson's business documents, but, for reasons unknown, he did not pursue its application in his mills.[6] It is possible that his seeming aversion to the risk-taking involved in embracing innovation resulted from his desire, as heir to his father's business, to conserve and consolidate. Nor does he seem to have been as astute as

Thompson I, who effectively forecast the future of Indiana when he stated that the town's lots "would not sell, except as farm lots, for 500 years to come."[7] Whether due to his own lack of foresight, lesser business acumen, or simple conservatism, Thompson II had fewer and fewer local business opportunities, resulting in diminished employment opportunities for Indiana labourers, obliging people to move away from the area in search of wages to sustain themselves and their families.

Both reflecting, and perhaps contributing to, the declining businesses and consequent employment problems in Indiana, there was the reality of a population movement on an immense scale that seems to have typified Ontario society during the 19th century. The Indiana Land Registry Records reveal another piece of this transiency puzzle. There were 88 individuals who owned lots in Indiana over the years of this study. That number represented only 2.9% of the overall population, suggesting that the vast majority of the population could not afford to purchase land or that many *never intended* to remain in Indiana for any length of time.[8] As Terry Crowley has noted, rural Ontarians lived in perpetual motion, with hope for improved economic prospects the foremost reason for pulling up stakes, often more than once: "Having already come so far, immigrants were prepared to move again in search of better economic opportunities... wherever cheap land or jobs beckoned, people moved."[9] In other words, short term residency in Indiana may have been part of a personal plan or wider family strategy, to make money quickly and continue the process wherever better fortunes beckoned. This was certainly the pattern for tenant farmers, as

noted in Chapter 4. Even those who did purchase property in Indiana owned the lots for an average of only eleven years.[10] A very small number (3.5% of the entire Indiana population), can be classed as "persisters", as they owned their property for more than 25 years.[11] Nine property owners held their properties for less than a year, and in most of these cases, for less than six months.[12] Those who knew they were merely sojourners were likely speculating, not without reason, that land values would rise and permit them to "cash in" on their initial, if short-term, investment. Others might be prompted by darkening financial news to sell while they could at least recoup some of their investment.

Whether this was an intentional personal or familial financial strategy, the overall transiency of Indiana's population led to problems that affected those who stayed behind. As American historian Hal Barron contends, in the late nineteenth century, "The declining quality of life in depopulated rural communities was cause for concern. As the size of a farm township declined, roads deteriorated, property values depreciated, and local institutions fell into disuse and disrepair."[13] The "ripple effect" in such towns and villages could quickly undermine property values, work opportunities, and family security. Since many families were already doing everything they could just to make ends meet, destitution could present itself as a very real possibility.[14] The end result may have been that even those who had intended to stay felt that they could not afford to remain in Indiana, and they too moved on, perhaps forfeiting whatever gains had been made, and with little option but to start over in a more promising setting.

As the case of Indiana demonstrates, population transiency was one of the principal manifestations of industry's impact on rural economies across the province, an impact experienced on multiple levels. Historian Richard Reid has noted that, "As regional isolation was shattered by new cheap transportation links, the secrets of any firm's success lay in sound business leadership, efficient operation based on the most modern technology, a trained and stable labour force, consolidation, sufficient capital resources and specialization."[15] The decline in innovation and leadership during the years that Thompson II was running the family business led to inefficient use of modern technology, capital resources and labour.[16] There is little doubt that the problems associated with now-outmoded water power technology contributed to the demise of the mills in Indiana.

By the twentieth century, the early advantages of being on a river in a rural environment, including good water power and cheap raw materials, were largely gone. Moreover, modernization and sophisticated financial management were increasingly creating obstacles for family firms that simply did not have the necessary capital, research capability, specialized knowledge and employee expertise to keep up to organizational and technical changes. Technological advances brought about new economies of scale that promoted larger production capacity, thus business expansion and consolidation; "efficiency" became the catchword of modern industry; and, together with the onslaught of managerial capitalism and the joint-stock company, these changes effectively ended the golden age of the sort of "family-based patriarchal capitalism" embodied by the Thompsons of Indiana.[17]

Finally, alongside such vital and dramatic technological changes, demographic shifts constitute a conspicuous feature of change in Ontario during this period. Late nineteenth-century rural Ontario experienced a general decline in the number of its inhabitants. This is not simply explained in reference to the high incidence of transiency, rather, farmers and workers were leaving rural environs altogether. Most townships exhibited a decreasing density after 1881. In fact, each census between 1891 and 1921 recorded a net loss in Ontario's rural population.[18] Reasons for this out-migration have already been touched upon, but it is clear that people left rural townships at least in part because of a perception of better economic opportunities in towns, cities and increasingly in the west, especially for the younger generations. The opening of the CPR line in 1886 was a significant event, in that it allowed for large-scale transportation of people and commodities between Ontario and the west, thus facilitating both family relocation and the "sojourns" of the young and unmarried, mostly men.[19]

In the end, if a definitive causal explanation for Indiana's demise remains necessarily speculative, what can be said is that the on-going and unrelenting process of industrialization, and its concomitant, urbanization, left a dramatic mark on Ontario's rural places during the years of rapid and intensive socioeconomic change considered here. Technological change transformed the way many farmed the land as well as the nature of resource exploitation and production in industry, thus transforming the family farm, the family business, and family economies overall. There is little doubt that the fluidity of settlement reflected the complex economic, social, political and technological changes that

were visible across Ontario.[20] While it can be speculated, from the evidence available in his own records, that leadership, foresight and entrepreneurial vision on the part of Thompson II might have given Indiana sustained life, what is clear is that towns all over Ontario experienced economic decline and population exodus in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indiana's fortunes were quite simply part of that larger story.

ii. The Survivors: York and Cayuga

Indiana began and ended under the influence of the two Thompson men and within the context of their family business, thus their family fortunes. It was one of five towns in a span of just six kilometers along the Grand River: book-ended by York and Cayuga were Mount Healy, Indiana, and Deans. Today only York and Cayuga exist. What was it about those two towns that allowed them to survive and prosper amid the transformations of those years, especially in view of the disappearance, by the turn of the twentieth century, of three of their neighbouring communities?

By 1835, York was an established village that contained a post office, mills, several large stores, taverns and a school.[21] The town was originally settled by the Nelles family around 1790 and it was first known as Nelles Settlement.[22] During the 1830's, when the canals were being built, York had five sawmills, as well as a grist mill.[23] One of the most important industries was gypsum; the plaster-of-Paris beds in the immediate vicinity were easy to extract. Martindale's plaster mill had a capacity of 6000 tons per year in 1867. Other manufacturing establishments included carriage and wagon makers, merchants, painters,

carpenters, butchers and shoemakers and a saddler. York also boasted an established social and cultural network, including two brass bands.[24] With a population of about 500 by 1867, York contained a number of civic minded people, with one group lobbying the Provincial government for a bridge across the river, built in the 1850's.[25]

Cayuga was a "new town" in 1835, as noted by Thomas Rolph who did a statistical survey of Upper Canada that year. He reported that he was "gratified" to see small but neat gardens, and that Cayuga had a scattering of houses and "luxuriant crops" on the flats of the Grand River.[26] The following year, in 1836, the Cayuga Bridge Company was formed through joint stock options, and a bridge across the river was built that year.[27] As was the case in neighbouring York, the town's significant industry was gypsum, although its extraction evidently "did not make anyone in Haldimand County fabulously rich".[28] In spite of its lack of industrial diversity, Cayuga was selected as the County Seat in 1850, when a courthouse and jail were built; it was incorporated as a village 16 June, 1859.[29] The 1867 Gazetteer indicates that Cayuga's population by then was 800; nearly double that of York and almost three times that of Indiana.[30] By 1877, the *Illustrated Historical Atlas* was carrying advertisements for a land surveyor, general merchants, a physician and surgeon, a lime dealer, grain dealer, blacksmith and stage coach operator located in the town.[31] The nature and range of these businesses suggest a settled community, but the town had not become industrialized or dependent on manufacturing for its residents' livelihood. In large part it is the fact that Cayuga became the County Seat that likely spared it from

the same fate as Indiana and its other neighbours, excepting York, along the Grand River. Once its principal natural resource, gypsum, the basis of its only significant industry, was fully exploited, there were scant other employment opportunities. Like other towns with mobile populations, without the courthouse and jail that necessitated their up-keep, roads and infrastructure would probably have deteriorated, and Cayuga might also have slid into obscurity. Ironically, it was David Thompson I, who, in his role as the area's Member of Parliament, selected Cayuga and not Indiana as the County Seat. Reportedly, Thompson believed that, had he chosen Indiana, the value of his own property would have been greatly enhanced, and he did not want to be seen to benefit directly from such a decision.[32]

York, on the other hand, does not have so obvious an explanation for its continued existence into the present day. Perhaps the answer to this conundrum is found in a curious, if inverse, parallel to the related fortunes of the Thompsons and the town of Indiana: the Nelles' family is still living in the area and has continued, over the course of two centuries, to participate actively in the community's business and civic leadership. Also of note is the fact that its local economy was, first of all, not dependent on one family. Its industries were established incrementally, developing over a longer period of time, with those that failed succeeded by new ones or the expansion of older businesses, a pattern of economic development which slowed the loss to out-migration and played an important part in the town's permanency. In the end, although there are many similarities in their demographic composition and economic structure,

the Grand River towns of York and Cayuga did not encounter the scale and extent of restrictions on their growth and prosperity as did neighbouring Indiana. Despite their own challenges, they managed to prosper and persist. Consequently, while Indiana's leading family floundered, and the town whose fortunes were so closely tied to those of the Thompsons was itself lost to history

iii. Is Indiana Representative of Industrializing Towns in the 19th Century?

To date nothing has come to light that suggests that Indiana was unique in the way it was developed and eventually abandoned; thus it cannot be assumed that Indiana, Deans or Mount Healy were unusual for their times. Since 3/5 or sixty percent of the towns in a six kilometer span fell into relative obscurity before the end of the nineteenth century, the question remains, how many other towns across Ontario experienced a similar fate? Considering that before the railroad, waterways were the highways of the early nineteenth century, there must be hundreds, if not thousands, of towns that utilized early industrial water technology and then disappeared as other technologies were introduced. If that is so, as the example of three towns in a span of six kilometers suggests, Indiana may be seen as a town that experienced a fairly common trajectory of development and decline. It is therefore possible that it is representative of similar towns in the nineteenth century. Such a claim is not intended to imply that all industrial towns of the period were identical. Rather, those towns that utilized water power were susceptible to ice jams, flooding, wash-outs and collapse; thus, they were vulnerable to sudden and catastrophic losses of power. However, those that

moved with the times and utilized steam power were less prone to those problems and therefore more capable of remaining competitive as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Indiana's story, consequently, perhaps may be seen to have been representative of other industrializing towns in Ontario.

Endnotes

[1] Bruce Emerson Hill, *The Grand River Navigation* Company, (Brant: Brant Service Press, 1994), 70.

[2] David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 7.

[3] There are numerous letters and invoices at Ruthven that indicate the transfer of lumber from Indiana to distant markets. For a small sampling see: June 16, 1837, letter from Archibald to David confirming the movement of lumber, David's 1863 briefcase, B#3, Doc 11; June 20, 1837, another letter from Archibald to David confirming receipt of lumber, front hall/book bookcase, file #4, Doc 16; August 17, 1838; another letter confirming shipment of lumber, David's 1863 briefcase, #3, Doc 3; May 10 and May 15, 1840, from Archibald to David, confirming sale of lumber, front hall/book bookcase #5, doc 1-D, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[4] For more on the individuals who owned and operated business, such as mills, see Chapter 4, *Appendix A: Biographies of Indiana Residents* and *Appendix G: List of Names of People in Various Occupations in Indiana.*

[5] Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 5.

[6] These documents are located in the Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[7] Appendix M.M., "Minutes of Evidence" David Thompson, Esquire, in the Chair, Tuesday October 31, 1843, *Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, *Volume III, September 28th to December 9, 1843*, (Kingston: G Desbarats and T. Cary, December 4, 1843).

[8] This was determined by charting each owner's length of residence in Indiana, from: the Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[9] Terry Crowley, "Rural Labour", In: *Laboring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (ed.) Paul Craven, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 18.

[10] This figure was determined by charting each owner's length of residence and then computing the average length of time each person, and then the entire population, was in Indiana, from: the Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[11] In order to generate this information I created a spreadsheet with the earliest and latest known date for each of the 3079 individuals that worked or lived in Indiana. I then determined the number of years that each person was present and then I sorted the database so that I had a list of individuals from the shortest to the longest amount of time each was present in Indiana. I then computed averages for each date range I was considering.

[12] Those who owned property for longer than 25 years included: Miles Finlen, Edward Kerrott, John Lester, James McGivern, Michael McKeown, John and Sarah Mills, and Wills Murdoch. There were eleven other property owners that owned their properties for an undetermined amount of time but it is assumed it was probably longer than 25 years in the end. For example, the SSNo8 owned the school house property and the Catholic Church owned lots 16-18 until some time in the 1990's; again, this figure was determined by charting each owners length of residence and then computing the average length of time each person was in Indiana – obtained from the Indiana Land Registry Records.

[13] Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in nineteenth-century New England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 38.

[14] It has already been mentioned in Chapter 2 that different men held a variety of jobs in order to pay the bills. For a detailed example of this, see the *Biographies* in *Appendix A*.

[15] Richard Reid, "The Rosamond Woolen Company of Almonte: Industrial Development in a Rural Setting", *Ontario History: the Quarterly Journal of the Ontario Historical Society*, Vol XXXV, No 3, (Sept 1983), 275.

[16] Reid quoted the *American Machinist*, "as water powers are improved they become more costly to the user; as steam power is improved it becomes less costly to the user"; see Reid, 1983, 276.

[17] Reid, 1983, 283-284.

[18] Ian Kenyon, "Weeds Uprising Where the Hearth Should be: Rural House Abandonment in Southern Ontario", *KEWA*, London, No. 6, (1995), 9.

[19] Kenyon, 1995, 8.

[20] GT Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield with Brian Van Nostrand *Ontario Central Places in 1871: A Gazetteer Compiled from Contemporary Sources,* Research Report 13, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1990), 17.

[21] Thomas Rolph in 1835, as quoted by Cheryl MacDonald, *Haldimand History: The Early Years 1784-1850*, (Nanticoke: Heronwood Enterprises, 2004), 52.

[22] *1867 Gazetteer, York*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham), 113.

[23] MacDonald, 2004, 70; I have not been able to locate estimated population figures for York during the building of the canal. The first known figure was 500 in the 1867 Gazatteer, however if Douglas McCalla's figure, in 1842, of a saw mill for every 542 residents, and a grist mill for every 1176 residents holds true in York then it can be said that the population of York must have similar to, or greater than, the population in Indiana. McCalla, 1993, 94.

[24] *1867 Gazetteer, York*, 114.

[25] *1867 Gazetteer, York,* 114; MacDonald, 2004, 62.

[26] MacDonald, 2004, 51.

[27] MacDonald, 2004, 62.

[28] MacDonald, 2004, 73.

[29] Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 20 June 1850; County by-law No. 84, 16 June 1859.

[30] The Gazetteer listed the population of Indiana as 300 people. My research indicates that Indiana was more than twice that size in the 1860s, therefore the population figures can only be taken as a general guide: *1867 Gazetteer, Cayuga*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867), 94.

[31] *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Counties Haldimand and Norfolk*, (Toronto: HR Page and Co, 1877), 22.

[32] From: Andrew Thompson, *Something about our Family*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

Conclusion: Indiana and Rural Industrialization in Nineteenth-Century Ontario

At the beginning of this study, the rural-industrial period was defined as encompassing the introduction of industry into regions whose chief land use was previously country, pastoral or agricultural, and which continued a close relationship between industrial and agricultural production. Indiana clearly fits this definition: farmers not only sold their produce locally throughout the years of its existence, but also sold their labour to those who owned industrial establishments. Moreover, once industry declined, as it began to do just after the time of Confederation, the area reverted to pastoral lifeways. By way of conclusion, it is important to consider how this reconstruction of Indiana's history can reveal information about the development of rural industrialization in Ontario in general terms.

J. David Wood has argued that "the overwhelming merchants of change in Ontario were the axe and the locomotive."[1] The case of Indiana amply exemplifies this conclusion. The town's initial development was an outcome of the lumbering that occurred in its vicinity. There is little doubt that the sound of axes in motion must have been a constant from the 1830's through to the late 1860's, as the presence of saw mills in Indiana attests. The introduction of industrial technology in Upper Canada, including the railroad, created new forms of production, hence new forms of work and life, as industry transformed society as well as the rural economy. Thus, the need to wield an axe gave way to the

need to move people, materials and products around the province and across the country with ease.

In spite of these historic changes, the reality in Indiana was that the industrial elements of the town were small-scale and reliant on the patriarchal capitalism of both the Thompson family, as represented by their leading figures, the elder David Thompson and his son, also David Thompson. The use of water power and the building of a canal were conceived by Thompson I, whose prescience, or at least ability to seize the day, helped Indiana toward its early achievements. Although Thompson I was not unique in his business style or even in combining business with politics in his role as Member of Parliament, he seems to have had financial acumen that provided his family with considerable wealth, thereby ensuring the town's prosperity.[2] As was often the case in the early years of industrial capitalism, Indiana's initial successes are largely attributable to the proficiency of a few early entrepreneurs such as Thompson I and his son-in-law John Rogers, who had the capital and the will to pour into family businesses and local development. The negative outcome, of course, is that their personal and familial fortunes were inextricably bound with those of their communities. When they gave up, failed, or died, often the town was fated to die with them.[3] Evidence from Indiana and a number of similar towns in this period indicates that a number of other rural Ontario towns, such as Mount Healy and Deans, experienced a similar rise and fall, however it was suggested in Chapter 7 that there were probably many more in Ontario.

Early entrepreneurs developed new areas by means of the latest technologies and modes of production. Some towns' prospects were attractive enough to bring in others, who also built businesses and industries, while some, such as Indiana, could not survive beyond a few generations. This study of Indiana, therefore, suggests that the historic pattern of rural industrialization began with a sharp, inter-related expansion of population and industry. Where diversification and consequently on-going innovation and development continued, or where transportation or politics favoured a particular town, as witnessed in Cayuga, for example, the steady flow of rural out-migration that characterized Ontario society during these years was mitigated by new opportunities in the town or its vicinity. In towns overly dependent on a single industry or resource, often in the hands of a single family, such as Indiana, and where innovation fell behind or was abandoned, stasis or decline and even disappearance were the likely result. Those towns that experienced continuous industrial growth and a relatively stable if not expanding population were also those most likely to urbanize and to emerge as centers of industry by the twentieth century.[4]

The reanimation of Indiana that has been attempted in various ways in this study opens windows into the everyday existence of the men, women and children who lived and worked in the largest industrial town in Haldimand County. It demonstrates how rural industrialization was experienced by the labourers who were an integral part of the historical forces that made it possible. Apart from the general observations made about the challenges of bringing Indiana's past to

light, specific pieces of the puzzle regarding community life need to be highlighted. It must be noted, first of all, that the economy clearly structured, but did not determine, the daily lives of Indiana's people. Although those who resided in and around Indiana had to go wherever there was work available they retained the ability to make choices about their personal lives. The evidence indicates that they followed the religion of their choice, played games, bet on races, attended dances, married one another, fought, drank alcohol, went to school and moved on as they saw fit.[5] In other words, while work was an important element of their everyday lives, it was not the sum total and not the only shaping factor in personal behavior and familial relations.

Also evident is the fact that, in spite of demonstrating their agency as historical actors, the townspeople's opportunities, challenges and restraints alike were affected by any number of personal and familial characteristics, such as class, race, religion, gender, age, familial position, marital status, and timing of arrival both in the nation and in the town, just as they were elsewhere in Ontario during this time.[6] The community often rallied to help those in need in a variety of ways, but particularly with food and housing.[7] There were a few individuals who were classified as "paupers," and they were often assisted by kindly citizens of the town.[8] As noted in Chapter 1, Thompson II was generous with those in need, acting in the tradition of paternalism to the less fortunate.[9]

The case of Indiana also confirms that the process of migration, in the nineteenth century, was an ongoing family affair. It is clear that, in many cases, immediate and extended families migrated to, and then left, Indiana, as a family

strategy. As historian Elizabeth Jane Errington has observed, the presence of family and kin helped to ensure both emotional support and economic assistance through the difficulties of relocation. Such ties and affiliations, Terry Crowley contends, probably helped "the mental and material transition to a new environment that was neither easy nor uniform."[10] As such, although there were people from diverse national, socioeconomic and political backgrounds, there were pockets of community that shared family and ethnic bonds that relied on one another for support within the larger community of Indiana. The Black community on the Brown Tract, the Irish Catholic families, and those who lived in the shanty towns, all in their particular ways, provided assistance for their own.[11]

The Thompson family history also exemplifies certain patterns of patriarchal capitalism that characterize the period under consideration here. Archaeologist Mark Groover has noted that taking care of one's own, insuring the continuation of the lineal family, maintaining the family homeplace, and passing the means of production to immediate descendants, were regarded as a type of "sacred trust".[12] This detail is closely related to the idea that families moved together as a unit, but the salient point here is that, whenever possible, families sought to pass their businesses to the next generation when they stayed in one place. While such familial strategies were commonplace ideals, in reality the persisters were few in the vicinity of Indiana. For those who did try to sustain family businesses, there is evidence that fathers hoped to pass their enterprises on to their sons. In addition to the two David Thompsons whose histories have been featured here, Andrew Devine and his son Andrew were both shoemakers

in Indiana; James Kirkland and his son George were both distillers; David McClung and his son Maxwell were both butchers; and Hugh Sharp and his son Robert were both machinists. By 1900 the only ones who were still in business in Indiana were Hugh and Robert Sharp. As for businesses headed by women, while no evidence has been found to demonstrate that women passed their skills and businesses on to their daughters, this was certainly the custom of the time for those who had such "feminine" skills as dressmaking or millinery.[13]

Another important point, as discussed in Chapter 4, is that tenancy was common in Indiana as in Ontario.[14] Indeed, for most of the nineteenth century, more people were renters in Indiana than home owners. Yet, in spite of the lack of ownership, it is clear that people did engage in community activities in and around Indiana and that they embraced it as their home for whatever length of time that they resided there, regardless of possible plans to leave or of the ultimate decision to do so. The residents helped to create landscapes that sustained their sense of social identity and belonging.[15] Projects such as the Indiana Bridge and the sidewalk through the town are testaments to that need and desire. In order to accomplish such projects, there had to be a strong sense of cohesiveness and vested membership in Indiana, even if for a short time. [16]

Finally, there is little doubt that, in Indiana, the challenges surrounding the search for employment and increasing economic instability created households, and consequently a community, that necessarily relied on the resourcefulness of individuals and families in adapting to their continually shifting environment.[17] Communities came together to assist one another as families adjusted to ever-

changing values and needs. In Indiana the evidence for this was found in many places, chief among them in the variety of skills and jobs that so many family members cultivated to make ends meet. As the strength of the Thompson family enterprises waxed and waned, people like Thomas Baker, Miles Finlen, Edward Kerrott, John Lynch, and Thomas McClory all sought a variety of jobs in different occupations in order to pay their bills and provide for their families.[18] When individuals were struggling with inadequate wages, others often came to their rescue. For example, on 6 February, 1872 Joseph Symonds, a gardener at Ruthven, paid William Barry's debt because his wages were being held under a garnishee order.[19]

Although these limited examples are specific to Indiana, they demonstrate that life in nineteenth-century Ontario was based on ever widening circles of membership. There were families that held together and worked together, both literally and in the sense of striving for the common good for economic and social reasons, but there were also affiliations based on religion or race or national origins, as well as the less obvious connections with home and landscape. [20] The residents of Indiana had complex relationships and alliances during an historical moment complicated by intensive, transformative change, and these helped to sustain them individually, in families, in wider social groups, and as a community, however impermanent.

By using multiple layers of evidence and borrowing some of the methods of historical archaeology to examine material culture, this study has aimed to fill out some elusive details about the people and practices that comprised rural

industrialization in late nineteenth century Ontario. Examining the town of Indiana as it developed, prospered and eventually disappeared, my findings suggest that Indiana's history was fairly typical of small rural-industrial centers of this time. As the historical and archaeological literature indicates, these were often characterized by a rise in industry and population, followed by a brief period of stability, and then a fairly rapid decline. Among the most important of the complex and multifarious factors contributing to this trajectory are the reliance on resource extraction, the dependence on a single, or a very small number of, family enterprises, and the impact of technological advances, especially insofar as the latter were adopted or neglected. While Indiana may be seen as fairly representative of similar towns that were lost in the frenzy of early industrialization, it is clear that the town developed in large part due to the business ingenuity of Thompson I, and that its decline is at least partially attributable to his son's seeming indifference to innovation at a time when it was vital to continued business success. Yet if the Thompson family history is integral to that of Indiana, it is not the whole story of Indiana. Varied family strategies included multiple occupational pursuits and collective migration as part of the overall economic plan. People moved as individuals, but often as family units, to locations that offered better prospects for family members, but they also embraced Indiana as their home when they were resident.

In light of the evidence brought forward in this dissertation, there are a number of issues that would profitably be addressed in future research. Beginning with the data available on Indiana itself, an examination of ledgers

from the Thompson stores might provide information on how consumer behaviour changed among various social groups in Indiana, and whether differences in purchasing strategies are reflected in the proportions of locally produced goods, exotic goods and mass-produced items. It would also be useful to consider whether evidence can delineate neighbourhoods, or pockets of individuals, who shared class, ethnicity, race, nation, age or any other social construct in common. Furthermore, a detailed study of the correspondence exchanged between Alexander Macduff and David Thompson II could provide insight into business, social and political networking in Indiana and Ontario. Looking outside of Indiana to the rural hinterland, an examination of the 1115 individuals who had indirect ties to Indiana would help to illuminate trade networks, transportation routes, political ties and social networks, particularly as they relate to schools and churches. Also fascinating, though challenging, due to the limits of the available evidence, would be a closer consideration of women in Indiana and in the Thompson family specifically. The data suggests that Elizabeth Thompson, wife of Thompson II, was a resilient and resourceful woman who attempted to keep her husband's business interests in working order after his death. The question of how influential women were in the rise of Indiana is certainly worth pursuing.

This study has followed various lines of inquiry to explore a variety of subjects relevant to my purpose in recovering Indiana's history. In addition to reconstructing some of the elements of family life, social features of life in Indiana

were examined, including alcohol consumption and leisure pursuits. This work has also touched upon a troubling component of Indiana life, the marginalization of women, as well as the Irish, Black and Aboriginal communities that existed in and around the town. The use of multidisciplinary approaches, including archaeological inquiry, as demonstrated in the analysis of material culture, as revealed in artifacts found in the West Field, shows the utility of accessing more than just the written word in the study of rural industry in Upper Canada. A combination of material culture and documentary analysis opens up more lines of inquiry than either could address on its own. In so doing, my purpose has been to recover some of the details of family, industry and material culture in "The Thompsons' Town", Indiana, Ontario, during the years 1830 to 1900, before it was "lost" to history.

Endnotes

[1] J. David Wood *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-creation before the Railway*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 162.

[2] Thompson I was one of many men who were politicians and local patriarchs who utilized the patron-client relationship. These men generally were those who were big fish in their own small ponds. For scholarly works on this subject see for example: Peter A Baskerville, Sites of Power: A Concise History of Ontario, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2005); Cecilia Morgan *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*,(Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).

[3] Thomas Lester was "reputed" to be the wealthiest man in Haldimand County, see: *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Counties Haldimand and Norfolk*, (Toronto: HR Page and Co. 1877), 11; James Kirkland owned one of two distilleries in Indiana. He reportedly was worth $8800 in 1861 and he employed 6 men and 1 woman, 1861 Census record for Haldimand County; John Rogers was the son-in-law to David Thompson I, having married his daughter Eliza Jane. Rogers had his hand in many things in Indiana but it was all linked to the Thompson's. Indeed, he rented their saw mill from 1852 to 1863, *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 62, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[4] Two examples of this phenomenon are Cornwall and Brantford. See: Jeremy L Stein, "Dislocations: Changing Experiences of Time and Space in an industrializing Nineteenth-Century Ontario Town", (eds.) Cynthia Comacchio and Elizabeth Jane Errington *People, Places and Times: Readings in Canadian Social History*, (Toronto: Thomson-Nelson, 2006), 50-62; David Burley *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 1994.

[5] All of these points have been in earlier chapters. See Chapters 3-6.

[6] Terry Crowley, "Rural Labour", (Ed) Paul Craven, *Laboring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 23.

[7] There were many examples of the kindness and support of the community to widows and those in need of shelter. Some were discussed in Chapter 3 but there were many more that weren't as the list would be lengthy and probably severely under represented.

[8] James Overholt and Joseph Appleton were the two men listed as paupers in Indiana. They were both discussed briefly in Chapter 3.

[9] "List of Contributions and Charities", *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 145, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[10] Crowley, 1995, 23.

[11] There were a number of Irish Catholic families that arrived in Indiana as a group or individually to join family members already here. Some of the last names in that category include: Farrell, Finlen, Kerrott, Loftus, Long, Lynch, Martin, McClory, McKenna, McMullen, Murray, and Walsh.

[12] Mark D Groover, *An Archaeological Study of Rural Capitalism and Material Life: The Gibbs Farmstead in Southern Appalachia, 1790-1920*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 5.

[13] For an examination of women's work and wage-earning see: Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[14] See: Catharine Anne Wilson *Tenants in Time: Family Strategies, Land and Liberalism in Upper Canada, 1799-1871* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

[15] A Bernard Knapp and Wendy Ashmore, "Archaeological Landscapes: Constructed, Conceptualized, Ideational", *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, (eds.) Wendy Ashmore and A Bernard Knapp, (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 15.

[16] Charles L Fisher, "Archaeology and the Rural Landscape " in: *Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Domestic Site Archaeology in New York State*, (eds.) John P. Hart and Charles L. Fisher, New York State Museum Bulletin 495, (New York: University of the State of New York, 2000), 63.

[17] Peter Gossage, *Families in Transition: Industry and Population in Nineteenth-Century Sainte-Hyacinthe*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 3.

[18] See the *Biographies* on all these men in *Appendix A.*

[19] *Indiana Day Book 1871-1877*, Feb 6, 1872, no pp #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[20] Fisher, 2000, 63.

Appendix A: Biographies of Indiana Residents

Thomas Baker

Thomas Baker's first occupation in Indiana was as a "Carpenter and Joiner." However he was quickly labeled as a *Contractor* when he was given the contract to build Thompson I office at Ruthven on August 24, 1849, in accordance with the "plans and specifications by Geo Laing, Architect".[1] By the 1860's he was also listed as a builder and repairman for Thompson II. In 1865 Baker received the contract to build the "addition" on Ruthven Mansion.[2] Then, in 1866 Baker received the contract to build a new office for Thompson II, for which he received, $445.60.[3] In 1869, Baker received yet another contract to build the Summer House at Ruthven, designed by George Laing and built to the specifications as written[4]. While Baker was doing the larger jobs for the Thompson's, he also did various smaller jobs, for example: repairing windows, fixing the wharf, painting and varnishing doors and furniture, fixing locks, "cutting head off flood gates" and "Making posts of the Summer Octagon House" in July of 1869.[5] In 1870 he repaired 'sashes for windows" in the office and the "breakfast room and kitchen", took down chimney pieces, fixed windows and fixed hoses.[6]

In 1863 Baker rented a store front from Thompson II in Cayuga.[7] By 1867 he was living on Talbot Street in Cayuga. While Thomas Baker's religion was never listed in the Thompson's documents, all other Baker's were Church of England members.

By 1871 Baker had 2 employees working for him.[8] Two of the men that Baker had working for him in 1869 were named John Reid and H. Lark. They assisted Baker with various and sundry repairs.[9] On July 22, 1876, Baker submitted his proposal for building the dam near Mount Healy.[10] Because the construction of the dam was delayed, Baker continued repairing things for the Thompson's around the house and office, for example: in 1877 he repaired a rocking chair, the cornice at the office, he removed a porch, painted and varnished the new one, repaired 'old refrigerator', built a rabbit house, repaired the fan light over office, repaired bedstead, painted sky light, repaired "sofa with 18 springs, buttons, canvas, lining, twine and tacks" and fixed register.[11] In 1878, Baker did further repairs at Ruthven Mansion and he also did some work at Dam. In addition he repaired and glazed a Book Case, "prepared 5 doors for shop", supplied "mortise locks complete", made 8 dryer clothes hooks and 12 walnut drawer knobs.[12] Baker had his son William Baker assisting him that year.[13]

In 1879 Baker's bid was accepted and he was hired to erect a "Timber Dam, 1 mile south of York on Grand River".[14] In addition, he built the Guard Locks for the new Dam. He charged Thompson II from February[15] through December[16]. During this time, Baker hired 68 labourers and tradesmen.[17] In 1880, Macduff wrote to Thompson that "Tom thought he'd have everything finished by the end of February". Macduff followed that letter a few days later with this comment, "I quite agree with you about the expenses being stopped there and think they are at an end now for some time."[18]

In 1881, Baker and his son William quoted Thompson II to take the Mill and Engine House from Deans to Poplar Heights, Manitoba for $1030 plus 2 Railroad tickets.[19] The tickets were purchased and the Baker's went out west.[20] There is nothing further in the Thompson account books about Thomas Baker.

Richard Brown

Richard Brown was hired to work as a clerk for Thompson I from 1836 to 1850. In that capacity he not only kept the books but he signed and witnessed many business transactions.[21] He was named the first 'official' postmaster of Indiana in 1841. He kept the position until 1850.[22] I think it fair to say that Richard Brown was Thompson's right hand man in every respect in the early years.

Brown was a Presbyterian who married Jane Henderson in November 1842. They were married by Reverend John Ryerson and the wedding was written up in the *Toronto Christian Guardian*.[23] After getting married Brown purchased lots 11 and 12 in Indiana from the GRNC in July of 1845.[24] Brown's son James was a teacher for the SSNo8 in 1863.[25]

Brown died in 1850 of unknown causes.[26] After his death there was a chancery suit notice in the *Grand River Sachem* between Brown's estate and Thompson I estate. The article discussed how Brown owned stock in Gore Bank, purchased by Thompson I so that he could direct Brown how to vote, thereby giving Thompson more power in the bank. It further discussed that this practice was 'fraudulent" but that the "impurity of the action died with David Thompson".[27] The point of the legal suit was to determine whose estate the dividends of the stock should be paid to. Brown's heirs were awarded $3168.23.[28]

John Craigie

John Craigie first showed up in Indiana in 1851 when he commenced work as a clerk for Thompson I for $60 per year.[29] In his capacity as clerk he witnessed Thompson's will in 1851 and he continued working for his estate after Thompson died, as a bookkeeper.[30] His salary was raised to $90 per year in 1853.[31] Craigie was a Presbyterian.[32]

In 1852 Craigie was listed as one of the original shareholders of the Indiana Bridge Company and on June 3rd he was elected as one of their directors.[33] In his role as director he was active in most meetings and was instrumental in getting the following signs posted at either end of the bridge, "Any person or persons riding or driving over this Bridge faster than a walk will be prosecuted according to the Law".[34] John Craigie was re-elected to the board of directors from 1853 through 1855.[35]

In 1853, Craigie and Rogers joined forces to share an office.[36] By 1855, Craigie had his own office.[37] In addition to being paid a salary as a bookkeeper for the Thompson's, a job that he continued until 1858, Craigie became a merchant in 1854.[38] Items in his store included crockery and medicines as well as other sundries.[39] In 1858 there were a variety of purchases made in Craigie's store by Connors, Leroy, Larkin, White, Graham and others, including 2 dozen

pails, bran and screenings.[40] In line with having a store, in 1855 Craigie became a postmaster for Indiana.[41] In 1861, Thompson II sold Craigie wheat from Ruthven Mill for his store.[42] In 1862 Craigie subscribed to the building of the Indiana sidewalk.[43] In total Craigie was a merchant in Indiana from 1854 to 1863, at which point he moved away from Indiana and settled in Ayr.[44]

Miles Finlen (Finlan, Fenlon, Finlon)

Miles Finlen was born in Ireland and he was a Roman Catholic.[45] He first appears in the historic record in Indiana in 1842, reportedly at age 29, when he married Ann Heenan, who was also born in Ireland.[46] They were wed on May 22 1842, at St Rose of Lima Catholic Church in Indiana.[47] Finlen adopted Anne's son, from her first marriage, Daniel Heenan.[48] Their first son, Patrick, who was named after Miles' father, was born the following year in 1843.[49] In quick succession they then had Mary Ann in 1844, Miles II in 1845, Charles in 1846, John in 1848, Michael in 1853, Agnes in 1855, Thomas in 1857 and James in 1862.[50]

Apart from a busy family life, Miles Finlen was involved in a great many activities in and around Indiana. Beginning in 1850 he began buying town lots, starting with lots 49 and 50, which he purchased from Father William McIntosh who had served Indiana between 1844 and 1848.[51] Apart from the lots he bought from the Catholic Church, the majority of the lots Finlen purchased were obtained from the GRNC. Beginning in 1852 he bought lots 26, 27 and 46 from the GRNC. The next year he bought lots 61, 62 and 63. In 1855 he added lots 24 and 25. In 1859 he acquired lots 5 and 6. Then in 1863 he added lots 44, 45 and 64. Over the years, the only other lot Finlen purchased that did not originate with the GRNC was lot 43 that he purchased in 1859. In 1881, the year Finlen's wife died, he sold off all but one of his lots.[52]

In addition to land ownership, Finlen rented 63 acres of Ruthven homestead farm from David Thompson in 1854 for three years and he renewed the lease in 1857 for the same term.[53] Interestingly, Finlen is a good example of someone who was hard to label when I first investigated Indiana, in other words was he a resident or wasn't he? Finlen owned a number of properties in Indiana which should easily have placed him on my list of Indiana residents. Indeed, he worked at many jobs in the town and he farmed part of Ruthven lands as well, but his home was on Con 1, lot 25, just outside of Indiana[54]. Finlen is one of the reasons I elected to discuss those who lived and/or worked in Indiana as opposed to attempting to only include those who were residents in the town as it is more complicated than one would expect to figure out who did or did not live in the town. Going back to the property that Finlen called home, on that property he kept a busy tavern, known as The Swallow that was legally licensed in 1868.[55] In addition to the tavern, Finlen was the proprietor of the Indiana Hotel.[56]

Apart from the issue of where he lived and worked, Finlen was one of the original shareholders of the Indiana Bridge Company, which proposed the building of a swing bridge across the Grand River at the head of lock number one in 1852.[57] The bridge was built that year but in 1853 Finlen was forced to sell his

shares over a dispute involving his "non-compliance" in the payment of bridge tolls owing.[58] Not to be thwarted in his civic endeavors, in 1862 Finlen was part of the original Indiana sidewalk committee that was desirous of having a sidewalk built through the town itself. Finlen subscribed $2 to this effort at a time when many laborers earned .75 cents per day.[59]

In a hotly contested election in 1863 Finlen beat out David Thompson, by 2 votes, to become secretary/treasurer of School Section No 8, Indiana.[60] With Thompson as his competition, clearly Finlen was a man who was willing to face friends and foe alike when he believed things needed his attention. Indeed, on April 26, 1866, Finlen presented a formal complaint to the local Magistrate, David Thompson, that Patrick Farrell was keeping a ball court open on his property and he had allowed games to take place on Sunday's for the past 3 months.[61] Three days later, on April 29th he again complained to the Magistrate but this time his complaint was assault. He once more named Patrick Farrell but this time he added Charles Farrell and Nicholas Larkin to the list of attackers in his complaint. Further, this complaint specified the attackers kicked him and struck him with clenched fists.[62] What made this complaint particularly noteworthy was that two of those men, the Farrell's, were respected merchants and innkeepers in Indiana and Larkin was a burly labourer who often did heavy work for David Thompson. Clearly Finlen was not afraid to deal with those he thought lawless because in 1866 he joined the organizing force behind the development of a "Home Guard" for the protection of Indiana from "lawless men". He signed on to the muster roll as a "defender of Indiana."[63]

As I have already pointed out, Finlen was a man who was not afraid to face his foes. Alexander Macduff sent a letter from Indiana to David Thompson when parliament was in session in Ottawa, saying that Finlen and a local troublemaker Michael Madigan had gotten into a fight. "They had a fight this afternoon and Madigan got the worst of it. I hope Miles gave him a sound thrashing: if he would half kill the brute, I would only be glad".[64] After the fight, according to Macduff, Finlen was then loudly heard to exclaim, "Madigan could go to h--l if he liked".[65] The rift between Finlen and Madigan does not appear to have been a new one as it was later revealed that Finlen had tried to have Madigan evicted for arrears in rent.[66]

It seems that giving someone a thrashing was not completely unusual for Finlen. As proprietor of the aforementioned tavern, when things got out of hand with drunken brawls, as reported by Andrew Thompson grandson of David Thompson II, "Miles was benignly blind to mayhem and shenanigans. It was only when some crazy gossoon stopped swinging punches and started breaking up the furniture that the old warrior stepped in with a roundhouse of his own and showed quite plainly that no rough stuff was allowed."[67] Not surprisingly, the fact that he used his fists to solve problems did land him briefly in jail, but his quick release was thanks to his connection to David Thompson.[68] Despite his ability to use his fists, Finlen was known to have a good sense of humour. Indeed, according to one source, the Swallow was the best patronized hotel in the village and the popularity was due in large extent to the wit and generosity of the host, Miles Finlan.[69]

In spite of owning a tavern and an inn, when times were hard Finlen took on jobs as a labourer, doing whatever was required. Between 1871 and 1876 he worked as a teamster on the canal doing repairs and he took on a variety of other odd jobs for David Thompson from as early as 1852.[70] He also borrowed money from Thompson II in 1867, at 8% interest.[71] Undoubtedly Finlen's solid working relationship with Thompson worked well for both of them because in 1886 Finlen was on a Thompson voter's list and on it Finlen was noted as one whose "vote they could count on".[72]

Finlen's wife died in 1881, at 69 years of age.[73] That year the census record lists him as a "gentleman". The last mention I have of Finlen in Indiana was in 1887 when he sold his one remaining lot in the town.[74] Finlen would have been 74 years of age.

William B Hutty

William B. Hutty was born October 15, 1845 in England and he immigrated to Canada in 1870 with his father Peter.[75] They first arrived in Quebec but then they made their way to Indiana because by 1871 they were listed in the census that year as farmers.[76]

Apart from farming, Hutty had a variety of jobs as a labourer with Thompson II, including on Dam #1 in October 1876 and again in November 1876[77]. In spite of the odd jobs he did for Thompson, his main interest was farming. In the same year, 1876, he and his father Peter leased part of Ruthven homestead. Then, Thompson insured on their behalf, the building of a "2 story Brick Dwelling House, 36x26 with Kitchen and wood shed 52x30, a Frame Barn 40x30, and a Frame Shed 60x30" for $1400 in the same year.[78] In 1878 Hutty was a witness to his father's rental of more of the homestead farm from Thompson II. Together they had leased part of Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 River Range, Township of Seneca from Thompson II.[79]

On October 14, 1880 Hutty married Isabella Jane Kelly. He was 35 at the time and a Church of England member.[80] In 1881 his father Peter moved to Binbrook and Hutty took over the lease of Ruthven farm himself.[81] After marriage he continued working odd jobs as a labourer because in 1881 he was paid to haul lumber for C Stephenson.[82] That same year he and Thompson II received letters from Coleman and Thomson, realtors, asking for details about the Hutty farm on Ruthven homestead because Thompson II was considering putting Ruthven up for sale.[83] In the end Ruthven was not listed for sale but Thompson and Hutty obviously had a good working relationship because on the 1886 Voters List for Seneca Township, Hutty was listed as a tenant on the Thompson property and his was a vote they could "count on".[84]

By 1915 Hutty had moved to Glandford Township and on June 12, 1915 there was a serious accident on a neighbouring farm. Hutty had gone to the neighbors to see how they were going as they were drilling for gas. They "struck a good well" and they capped it but they had found a leak. Hutty was helping stop the leak when the "escaping gas burst into flames... enveloping them in flames."

William Hutty died on Saturday July 19th of the injuries he sustained in the accident.[85] He would have been seventy years old.

Edward Kerrott (Kerrot, Carrot)

Edward Kerrott first appeared in Indiana documents in 1852 as a labourer for the Thompson's, he would have been approximately 37 years old at the time.[86] Kerrott emigrated from Ireland an unknown point in time before that. His mother Catharine and brother William also immigrated to Indiana from Ireland.[87] Catherine was listed as 78 in the 1861 census and 90 in the 1871 census. In both census' she was also listed as a widow.

Kerrott was married to a woman named Catherine who was listed as 40 years of age in the 1861 census, 50 in 1871 and 60 in 1881. She too was born in Ireland. Catherine made a purchase at Ruthven Mills in 1874.[88] Kerrott and Catherine had 6 living children in 1861: Rose (19) David (12), William (8), Edward (3), Margaret (1), John (born in 1861).[89]

Kerrott did a number of jobs in and around Indiana. In 1857 he was paid by Thompson's executors to help move a house in Indiana.[90] By 1861 he was the lock tender for the lock at Indiana for which he was paid $30 per month. That was a job he held until at least 1872.[91] By 1881, Kerrott's job changed so that he became a watchman for the CSR at age 68.[92]

In 1858 Kerrott made a variety of purchases from the estate of the late Thompson I at the public auction of his property.[93] In 1860 his daughter Rose married John Farrell of Indiana at St Rose of Lima Church, Indiana. Rose was 18 years old at the time.[94] In 1862 Kerrott subscribed $1 to the new sidewalk being built in Indiana.[95] In 1866 he was part of a group of concerned Indiana citizens who joined the muster roll for the protection of Indiana.[96]

Apart from his general activities in and around Indiana, in 1882 Edward Kerrott bought lots 79, 80, 81 and 95 in Indiana.[97] In 1886 Kerrott was on the voters list generated by Thompson II, as someone they could count on for a vote and as a landowner in Indiana.[98] On May 22, 1888 Kerrott died in Cayuga of "old age".[99] He would have been approximately 73 years old.

Alexander Molson Kinnear

Between 1861 and 1879 Alexander Kinnear was a bookkeeper and clerk for Thompson II. He "commenced services on September 1, 1861 at $400 per year.[100] By 1867 he was earning $500 per year, a salary he earned until 1870.[101] In his role as clerk he witnessed the signing of leases, as well as agreeing to be Thompson's Power of Attorney in 1865 should anything happen to Thompson.[102]

Kinnear not only worked for Thompson but he was interested in policing and judicial issues as well. In 1866 he joined the Home guard muster roll as a protector of Indiana and in 1867 he was listed as a magistrate for Indiana.[103]

In 1869 he purchased lots 3, 4 and 28, 29 in Indiana.[104] In 1873 he purchased lot 36 in Indiana, then in 1874 he purchased ¼ acre of Lot "B". He then sold "B" in 1877.[105]

In addition to his clerical and judicial duties, Kinnear also owned a saw mill and in 1870 he sold oak timbers to Thompson II for the Ruthven Mill Repairs.[106]

In spite of the fact that he owned property in Indiana, the 1871 Census listed Kinnear as boarding at E. Barry's. In addition it claimed that he was a Presbyterian, born in Scotland, that he was an accountant and that he was 42 years old. Further, he was unmarried and without dependents. In 1886 he was on the Voters List for Seneca Township, at which point he was listed as a "saw mill owner" in Indiana.[107] In 1887 he sold his remaining property in Indiana. At that point he was listed as "unmarried" and that is the last reference I have for Alexander Kinnear.[108]

James Lees[109]

The first mention of James Lees in Indiana was in 1860 when Lees was listed as a "dyer and scourer" in Mitchell's directory at Thompson's Carding and Fulling Mill.[110] Lees' brother William was the assistant carder at the mill in 1862.[111] Lees continued to work as a dyer and scourer until 1864.[112] For currently unknown reasons, the Carding Mill was idle in 1864, at which point Lees leased the Mill from Thompson II for 2 years.[113] Rather than renewing the lease, Lees purchased the Carding and Fulling Mill from Thompson on Feb 23, 1866.[114] That same year he also purchased lumber and sand to fix his house from Thompson.[115] Because Thompson held the mortgage on the Carding mill, Thompson insured it in 1867 for $1000.[116] The Gazetteer of 1867 listed Lees as Proprietor of the Ruthven Woolen Factory. It also said that he had 5 employees.[117] By the 1871 Census, he was said to have 3 employees and he was a wool carder.[118] In 1872 and again in 1877, Lees paid water rent at Lock No 1 to Haldimand Navigation Company.[119]

Lees and his wife Jane had six living children according to the 1871 Census: Helen (24), Margaret (22), James (17), Mary (12), Thomas (10) and Euphemia (4). Lees was also listed as a Presbyterian.

In addition to running his mill, in August 1869, Lees and his son "Young Jim", who was 15 years old at the time, worked as labourers for Thompson.[120] Lees' daughter Mary began working for the Thompson's as a nurse when she was only 14 years of age. She continued working for the Thompson's until 1877.[121] The only other known family of Lees was his mother, who was listed as 70 years of age in the 1861 Census. She was not mentioned in the 1871 Census.

In 1871 Lees and his wife Jane purchased lots 13 and 14 in Indiana, from the Haldimand Navigation Company. In 1875 they secured a mortgage on those lots with David and Elizabeth Thompson.[122] When they signed the indenture between themselves and the Thompson's, Lees was listed as a "clothier".[123] Their house was situated on Grand River Street in Indiana and it was insured for $400 in 1877 by Thompson, the mortgager, for three years.[124]

Thompson II frequently did business with Lees' factory. The last reference to his having done so was in 1878 when he had Lees card wool for him.[125] The reason the work ceased was that in 1878 Lees "forfeited" the carding mill back to the Thompson's, the mortgage holders, because part of it was washed away in the spring flood that year.[126] Nothing further was written about James Lees in the Thompson documents after that event other than a letter from Wills Murdock who was interested in purchasing the Lees stable from Thompson in 1880.[127]

Thomas Lester

Thomas Lester first settled in township in 1836, "He built a saw mill and carried on extensive and successful lumbering business until the timber supply was exhausted.[128] He was listed in the area in the 1842 Seneca Plan.

Lester married Margaret Mussen, December 31, 1844.[129] He and his wife were both born in Ireland and both were Church of England members.[130] Their daughter Sarah was born in 1846, their son John was born July 7, 1849, and their son Thomas was born in 1854[131]

In 1850 Lester purchased "Indian land" in and around Indiana.[132] In 1862 he purchased lots #1-12 in Indiana.[133] In addition to land purchases, Lester bought various items from businesses owned by the Thompson's from 1851-1880.[134] The Thompson's also purchased lumber from Lester's business. For example, in 1870 Lester sold lumber to Thompson for the Ruthven Mill repair and in 1871 Thompson II again purchased lumber from Lester for $185.56.[135]

In 1852 Lester was one of the original shareholders of the Indiana Bridge Company and he was one of the original directors on the board and he was elected as the Treasurer. For reasons unknown, Lester resigned his position on the board in the same year, 1852.[136] In the Minutes of the Indiana Bridge Company it showed that Lester owned lots in Indiana; that he was JP; and he was the owner of the Pail Factory.[137]

In 1851, Lester was listed as a mill owner in the Census that year and as a "saw mill owner" in 1861. Additional information in 1861: employs 6 men, 2 women, Water power, worth $3500, pine lumber. In 1864 Lester was listed as a JP (Magistrate) and a lumberman in the Mitchell's guide.[138] In 1867 Lester was listed as owner of a Pail Mill and a saw mill in the Gazetteer.[139] It was estimated that his mill produced 50 dozen pails/week and it was said to supply "the Hamilton market".[140] By 1871 Lester was listed as a "farmer" in the Census record however he was also listed as a saw mill owner with 5 employees in 1871 in another historical source.[141] By 1875 Lester was again listed as a farmer in Thompson's books as well as in the 1877 Illustrated Historical Atlas, further, his mailing address was Deans.[142] In 1881, Lester was listed in the Census as 67 years of age and as a farmer with just himself and his wife in the household.

In 1883 Lester and his wife sold all their lots in Indiana, most to Alexander Forster, lots 1 and 2 he sold to Alexander and his wife.[143] After Lester sold the lots, there is nothing further in the Thompson documents about him.

John Lynch

John Lynch was born in Ireland in 1824 and he was a Catholic. He was the son of Patrick.[144] Lynch's wife was named Mary Farrell and together they had 10 living children: Mary Ann (1853-1881), Catherine (1854-?), Bridget (1856-?), James (1858-?), Agnes (1860-1879), Ellen (1862-?), William (1864-?), Johana (1866-?), John (1866-1890), baptized St Rose of Lima church, Aug 12, 1866, and Alice (1868-1916).[145]

The first mention of Lynch in Indiana was in 1852 when he hauled lumber for Thompson's executors.[146] He continued to work as a laborer for the Thompson's

over the years. He was again paid to haul in 1860.[147] In 1863 he was paid to do road work for Thompson II.[148]

Beginning in 1854 John Lynch rented 63 acres of the homestead farm.[149] He continued to rent various parcels of Ruthven property over the years. In 1856, Andrew Thompson wrote to his brother Archibald Thompson, executors of Thompson I estate, to see if John Lynch could "continue running farm".[150] In 1857, John Lynch rented part of Ruthven homestead for 1 year.[151] In 1858, Lynch rented the same property along with a dwelling for 2 years.[152] In 1860, Lynch rented "part of Ruthven homestead and Slinks Island for 3 yrs"[153] In 1864, Lynch rented "part lots 1-10 homestead farm for 10 years", paying rent of $300 yearly.[154] In 1867 Lynch rented part of the Ruthven homestead and dwelling. Thompson II insured the farm and dwelling for $1500 that year.[155] In 1868 Thompson II "rented him part lots 1-10 Ruthven homestead, adjoining Upton's land for 5 years."[156] In I873 Lynch leased part of the Ruthven homestead from Thompson, known as "W Pt, Lots 4 and 5, River Range, Seneca". The dwelling house, barn, shed and granary were insured for $1600 by Thompson.[157] In 1879 he renewed his lease for part of Ruthven homestead for 10 years, and he did the same for other parts of Ruthven Homestead in 1880 and 1881.[158] The property was again insured in 1882 for a total of $1600, as described "$1000 on Dwelling House and Wood House, $600 on Barns 1, 2 and 4, Shed, Stable, Granary and Drive House, situated on the River Range, Lots 4 and 5 in the Township of Seneca."[159]

Lynch not only rented land, he made improvements as well. For instance, in 1861, he purchased "10,322 nails for fencing land he rented from the Thompson's."[160] Lynch spent considerable time and money building fences for David Thompson on the land he rented. Specifically he put up 5,530 rails in 1873 and 3,090 in 1874.[161] In addition to making improvements, he sold produce to the Thompson's. For instance, in 1872 he sold milk, cream, and potatoes to Thompson II. He was also paid for teaming that year.[162]

Obviously, farming was Lynch's chief occupation because in 1859 Lynch purchased a threshing machine from Thompson.[163] In the 1861 Census he was described as a farmer with 400 acres, Con 2, Lots 8 and 9, with a frame house, who was 37 years old and with 7 dependents. Additionally, he was listed as a Roman Catholic from Ireland. In 1871 he was listed as having 11 dependents and 46 years of age. In 1881 Census he was listed as having 8 dependents and he was 57 years old. In 1891 he was listed as having 4 dependents and he was 66 years old.

In 1862 Lynch was part of the organizing committee that was raising funds for the building of a sidewalk in Indiana.[164] In addition to his desire to improve the town of Indiana, he was listed as a JP in 1867.[165] The same year he purchased lot "A" in Indiana.[166] In 1865 he purchased lot 30 and then in 1866 he purchased lots 28 and 29. In 1867 he purchased lots 3 and 4. Then in 1868 he sold lots 28-30.[167] In 1873 he purchased lots in the village of Deans.[168] Thompson II and his wife Elizabeth sold John Lynch lots 26 and 27 for $6000 on Dec 1, 1885.[169]

On a sad note, in 1879 his daughter Agnes (Aggie) suddenly died. According to Alexander Macduff "she was cut away in a very sudden manner" and "The

funeral was the largest I ever saw. All the scholars in the Cayuga schools, headed by their teachers, followed her in procession to the grave..."[170] According to the records of St Patrick's Church, Caledonia, she died 21 April 1879, buried April 22, 1879. She died of Congestion of Lungs. On a happier note, another of Lynch's daughters, Catherine, was married to Thomas Nolan on Jun 21 1881.[171]

In 1886 he was on the voters list for Seneca Township.[172] He died of "inflammation of the stomach" Mar 1, 1896, and he was buried in St Stephens Cemetery, Cayuga.[173] Lynch had been an integral part of life in Indiana for 44 years.

Alexander Macduff

Alexander Macduff first worked for Thompson II when he acted as his bailiff, taking goods and chattels from Hill and McCulloch as payment due in 1876.[174] After that, Macduff worked at the Mill as Thompson's clerk from 1876-1878. His duties included recording mill transactions from 1876 to 1877, and again in 1878.[175] In 1877, Macduff and Thomas Richardson measured the road between the Dockstader's and Martindale's properties in Indiana.[176]

In February 1879 Macduff, a Presbyterian, became Thompson's personal clerk which required, amongst other things, that Macduff sent regular news and information to Thompson when he was in Ottawa.[177] In general Macduff spoke his mind freely and comfortably in his dealings with Thompson II. He was respectful but often very outspoken. For example: in a letter he wrote to Thompson about some men he thought were cheating Thompson, he stated, "if you allow those D—d cattle to get their nose in anything, they are not satisfied until their posterior is in also."[178] In another instance he was forthright about his own character. He wrote, "I will charge myself with this $20 as I require a little money to carry on the profitable trade of idleness."[179] An example of his humour was seen in his comment, "Uncle Billie says that you have not sent him any parliamentary papers, he adds: he trusts that the Tories have not yet killed you."[180] In another example he wrote, "Robert Davis ("God Bless you Sir") was here punctual this 23rd April for the interest on the $300 which was due today. I wonder if the old hypocrite is as punctual in calling to pay his obligations when they are due."[181] In addition to his pithy and regular correspondence, he took an inventory of the items on the dam for Thompson in 1880.[182]

While he was his personal clerk, Macduff rented lots 11 and 12, Indiana, from Thompson for three years in 1879 for $50 per year.[183] He remained in Indiana/Deans until June 20, 1881, at which point he headed out to Poplar Heights, Manitoba to assist Thompson on his new mill project out there.[184] While there Macduff purchased properties, and then sold the same properties for the Thompson's. He also oversaw the construction of the mill property and then the erection of the mill on the site. The last communication from Macduff to Thompson, from Manitoba, occurred July 28, 1884.[185] The last correspondence between Macduff and Thompson was when Macduff wrote to Thompson from Scotland, reporting on his trip with his family in 1885.[186]

Thomas McClory (McClorey, Mclory)

Thomas McClory first showed up in 1851 when he worked as a labourer for Thompson I.[187] In 1856 Thompson's executors paid for him to board at the shanty while he did work for them.[188] He continued working for Thompson II over the years, doing various jobs such as cutting logs, digging cistern at stable, moving a house and clearing land, as well as using a scythe and working the harvest.[189] McClory was paid as a mason in 1859.[190] He was paid to harvest in the fall of 1859 and 1860.[191] He was paid as a log cutter in 1856 and in 1860.[192] He was paid as a blacksmith in 1861.[193]

According to the 1861 census he was a labourer who was 46 and single. He was born in Ireland and he was a Roman Catholic. In 1862 he subscribed to the building of the sidewalk in Indiana.[194] He seemed like a hard working and amiable man but in 1862 there was an inquest into his death as it was deemed a homicide.[195] The murder was never solved.

Peter McMullen

Peter McMullen was first mentioned in Indiana in 1859 when he purchased flour from Ruthven Mills as an innkeeper.[196] In the 1861 Census he was listed as a labourer, born in Ireland, Roman Catholic, 30 years old with 4 dependents and 2 horses. In the 1871 census he was listed as 42 years of age with 8 dependents. He was also listed as a "boatman".

McMullen began working for Thompson II as a teamster in 1861 when he was paid to haul flour.[197] From 1871 to 1873 he was paid by Thompson to haul stone with his scow.[198] In 1876 McMullen worked as a labourer on the dam at Deans.[199]

In 1862 he subscribed to the sidewalk being built in Indiana.[200] That same year he purchased lots 41 and 42 in Indiana from James and Isabel Kirkland for $400.[201] In 1866 he purchased a house from Thompson.[202] In 1871 McMullen purchased lot 65 on the north side of Dunn St, Indiana from Haldimand Navigation Company.[203]

Between 1863 and 1865 he purchased lumber numerous times and a "leather sucker" for a boat pump from Thompson II.[204] In 1867, McMullen was listed as a "Mariner" who lived on Con 1, lot 19.[205] In 1870 he purchased goods from Thompson as the "Captain of a Scow".[206] But by 1873 he was listed as a merchant in Indiana. In 1873 and 1874, he submitted accounts to Thompson that detailed the sales he had in his store.[207]

By late 1876 McMullen had left Indiana. Thompson paid the insurance on the house owned by him on lots 41 and 42, Indiana. The house was "not occupied by a tenant" when it was insured for $300. The house was described as, "A building 1½ stories high, 22x30, built of wood with shingles."[208] After McMullen left Indiana, between July 1880[209] and May 16, 1889 he rented Store #3, Scott's block, Caledonia from Thompson and his wife Elizabeth.[210]

Alexander Mitchell

Alexander Mitchell was in Haldimand County as early 1842 but the first mention of him in Indiana was in 1851 when Thompson I hired him as a miller

and rented him a stone house.[211] He continued in that position until 1854 when Mitchell rented a mill site from Thompson.[212] The following year, Mitchell purchased Lot 15 and discontinued renting the stone house from Thompson.[213] Mitchell continued renting the mill site from the Thompson's until 1859.[214] In 1860 he sold Lot 15 to Michael White.[215] By 1867 Mitchell was listed as living outside Indiana on Concession 2, Lot 3 and his profession was a farmer.[216] He continued interacting with Indiana as a farmer until 1891.[217]

Apart from his occupations, like many others, Mitchell was obviously interested in the betterment of Indiana because he was one of the original shareholders and the first President of the Indiana Bridge Company in 1852.[218] He would have been approximately 22 years of age at that time.[219]

Personal information on Mitchell includes that he was born in Scotland and that he was Presbyterian. He was not shown to have been married or to have a family.[220]

Thomas William Oxley

Thomas William Oxley first showed up in Indiana in 1870 as a clerk for Thompson II. Oxley worked as a clerk for Thompson between 1870 and 1871 for $20 per month.[221] Part of his duties as clerk involved continuing a correspondence with Thompson whenever he was away from Indiana. Beginning in October 1873 there were numerous items of correspondence between both Thompson and Oxley.[222] In addition Oxley executed a variety of business documents for Thompson including witnessing signatures on indentures.[223] In 1874 Oxley worked for Thompson issuing receipts for grains sold to Ruthven Mill.[224] In a letter from 1875 he wrote, amongst other things, that the plaster mill was using too much water and Oxley encouraged Thompson to shut them down.[225]

In the 1871 census Oxley was listed as 30 years old with 5 dependents. He was listed as a clerk for Thompson. He was said to have been born in England and was a Church of England member. According to the Census his wife was named Mary and they had 3 children: Rachel (b1865), Robert (b1867) and Emily (b1869).

Apart from working for Thompson, from 1874 to 1877 Oxley worked as a postmaster in Indiana.[226] Apparently he was not averse to doing labour for Thompson because in 1875 Oxley performed statute labour in Deans on Thompson's behalf.[227] He also worked at other jobs for Thompson. In August 1876, October 1876 and in the early months of 1877 Oxley worked for Thompson as a teamster on Dam #1.[228] The references to him as a postmaster and labourer are the last references to him in the Thompson business journals.

Ellen Meaghen (Maher) Slaven

Ellen Meaghen Maher arrived in Indiana as the bride of Thomas Slaven in 1859 at the age of 23.[229] There is nothing known about Ellen Slaven prior to her

arrival in Indiana other than, according to available census documents, she was born in Ireland and she was Catholic.

In the 1861 Census, Slaven was described as being 24 years old and the wife of Thomas. Their house was of frame construction. Thomas was described as having invested $1500 capital in the store. He was listed as 28 years of age. In 1863 Ellen Slaven gave birth to their first child Michael. The following year, 1864, Slaven gave birth to her daughter Eliza.[230] In the same year Thomas and Slaven purchased lot #1, known as the "old Thompson store" for $600 from David Thompson.[231] Thomas took up shop as a merchant.[232] Across the road Slaven purchased lots 51 and 52 from David Thompson and his wife Elizabeth for the sum of $400.[233] These lots were formally known as Thompson I's garden. The mortgage of $400 that was owed on the property was discharged on the 3rd day of August 1867.[234] In 1870 Slaven gave birth to her third child, Thomas.[235]

There is an intriguing side issue that ought to be mentioned here. In 1871 Slaven's husband Thomas left Indiana, for parts unknown, after he had to give up his share of the lots to his wife for financial mismanagement of his own affairs.[236] Eventually, as was reported to David Thompson in 1872 by his office clerk Alexander Macduff, "Thomas Slaven has arrived back in Indiana, after his wild goose chase".[237] I wish I had some idea what that wild goose chase was about but the salient point here is that Slaven obviously continued on, providing for her children alone for at least a year, which is probably the reason she sought employment as a school teacher between 1871 and 1873.[238] By 1874 Slaven no longer taught school and she instead opened the store and dwelling that her husband had formerly leased, in her own name, from David Thompson on Lot 1, Canboro Street, upon which sat a "two story frame dwelling house."[239] After that, Slaven declared her occupation as a store clerk, not as a merchant. Interestingly, her husband Thomas declared his occupation as a merchant even though his name did not appear on the lease for the store. Public declarations aside, in her role as "store clerk" Slaven purchased grain for the store from Ruthven Mill in 1874 and 1875. Perhaps again due to Thomas' mismanagement, the store was "insolvent" and it was "forfeited" in 1876 by the Slaven's and 'returned' to Thompson.[240] On November 7, 1878 lots 37 and 38 were ordered to be sold by Judge John Stevenson.[241] The same judge was the court official in the final dissolution of the Slaven property in 1881.[242]

In 1877 David Thompson insured the Slaven store on lot No 1, north of Canboro Street, described as a two story frame dwelling house, shingle roof dwelling" for $500 as it was "unoccupied".[243] There is much I'd like to know about this woman but unfortunately, the story about Ellen Slaven ends in 1882 when she sold lots 51 and 52 to David Thompson for $1, because she and her husband had moved their family to San Francisco.[244] In April of 1883, Thompson sold Lot 1, "the old Slaven store" to JR Martin.[245]

James and Thomas Upton

James Upton and his wife Ann were married in England and immigrated to Indiana some time between 1853 and 1860. Together they had 7 living children:

[3 children born in England] Walter (b1848), James (b1850) Eliza (b1853), [the remainder born in Ontario] George (b1860), William (b1862), Jane (b1865) and Ada (b1870).[246]

In 1866 Upton leased from Thompson II "parts of Ruthven homestead, Slinks Island and farming implements for 2 years."[247] The lease was renewed in 1868 on "part lots 1 to 10, containing 130 acres on Ruthven Homestead for five years."[248] In 1869 he rented 69 acres, listed as "M" on plan by E Decew for 10 years from Thompson.[249] In 1873 he rented part of the homestead farm for one year.[250]

In 1866 James and his brother Thomas joined the muster roll of the Home Guard.[251] In 1869 and 1870 James Upton worked for the Thompson's doing odd jobs such as digging a cellar, thrashing, picking up seed potatoes in Cayuga, fixing fences, digging a ditch, and taking hay to be weighed.[252] In 1872 he was paid to haul flour with his team for Thompson.[253]

In the 1871 census James Upton was listed as a farmer who was 52 years old, with 10 dependents. He was also listed as having been born in England and he was Methodist. In 1874 he sold grains to Ruthven Mills.[254] The final entry regarding James Upton was in 1875 when he worked as a labourer for Thompson.[255]

Thomas Upton's name was also on many of the leases that James signed with the Thompson's. Thomas Upton was a brickmaker between 1869 and 1871. He sold 3,650 and 2,568 bricks delivered to Ruthven.[256] In 1871 Thomas was listed as owning a brick kiln, with 4 employees, and he was 5th highest money maker in the County.[257] In the census of that year he was listed as a farmer who was 26 years of age with 5 dependents. He was Methodist and born in England. His wife was Martha A, and together they had 3 living children: David (b1866), Walter (1868) and Eliza (b1870).[258]

Michael White

The first mention of Michael White being in Indiana was in 1857 when White was hired as a cooper for the Thompsons.[259] Over the next few years, he purchased hay, flour, screenings and sundries from Ruthven Mill and the stores owned by the Thompsons.[260] At the same time White moved up in seniority at the cooperage. By 1861 he was the head cooper with four employees under him. The cooperage produced 2000 barrels per year. In addition, White owned two cows and two pigs, which explains why he needed hay and screenings from Ruthven Mill.[261] The same year, he rented a house and a garden from Thompson II.[262]

White would have been approximately 49 years of age when he began working for the Thompson's. He was married to a woman, whose name is unknown, who was one year younger than he was. They were both born in Ireland. Together they had four known children: Mary Anne (21), William (18), Catherine (16) and George (14).[263]

In 1862 White was involved as a subscriber to the Indiana Sidewalk Committee.[264] By 1865 he and his wife purchased Lot 15, which was at the end

of the new sidewalk that had been installed in the town.[265] The same year White purchased the cooperage from Thompson II for $175.[266] In 1868 he borrowed money from Thompson at 8% interest. By 1870 White couldn't meet his loan obligations and he forfeited back the cooperage to Thompson II.[267] After 1870 there is no further mention of Michael White or his wife.

Endnotes

[1] Contract for Thomas Baker to build an office at Ruthven for Thompson I, August 24, 1849, Artifact Room, Col ATT Metal Trunk, 19, #6, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[2] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 273, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[3] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 64, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[4] Contract between Thomas Baker and David Thompson, May 11, 1869, Artifact Room, Col ATT trunk, 8, #3 front; Specifications to build the Summer House, May 11, 1869, artifact Room, Col ATT trunk, 8, #1 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[5] See *Account for Thomas Baker*, 1869, attic pigeonhole 33B, #16 front attic pigeonhole 33B, #16 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[6] "Accounts" with Thomas Baker, attic pigeonhole 33B, #24 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[7] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[8] Gazetteer and Directory of Cayuga, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867); Gerald T Bloomfield, and Elizabeth Bloomfield, *Canadian Industry in 1871: Haldimand County Industries, 1871 Index to Manuscript Census*, Ontario County Series #8, (Guelph: Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1991), 41.

[9] Accounts between Thomas Baker and David Thompson for 1869, attic pigeonhole 33B, #16 inner right, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[10] Estimate to build dam, from Thomas Baker, submitted to David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 14AB, #47, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[11] *Account for Thomas Baker*, 1877, attic pigeonhole 33A, #30D front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[12] *Account for Thomas Baker*, 1878, attic pigeonhole 33A, #30C inner right, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[13] Attic pigeonhole 33A, #30A, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[14] Attic pigeonhole 61B, #13C, inside right, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[15] Receipt for David Thompson's payment to Thomas Baker, Feb 11, 1879, attic pigeonhole 14AB, #28 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[16] Receipt for David Thompson's payment to Thomas Baker, Dec 13, 1879, attic pigeonhole 14AB, #30 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[17] There were various accounts detailing the costs to David Thompson of building the Guard Locks. See for example: Attic pigeonhole 61B, #13C, inside right; attic pigeonhole 61B, #13C, inside left; attic pigeonhole 11AB, #9, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[18] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, February 28, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #43A front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[19] Attic pigeonhole 21, #34, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[20] Tickets purchased from William Edgar, Great West Railroad, Hamilton, attic pigeonhole 28A #66 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[21] There are numerous references to Richard Brown as a witness and as Thompson's clerk. See for example: Artifact room, metal trunk 87E, #13; Basement Recroom, large Buffet, 1 of 3, #9E; front hall bookcase, #4, Doc 14, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[22] Floreen Ellen Carter, Place Names of Ontario, Volume 1, (London: Phelps Publishing Company, 1984), 562; letter from David to Archibald, (PF3-40, RP DT 3), Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[23] Nov 9, 1842, *The Christian Guardian*, Toronto.

[24] Indiana Land Registry Records, pp. 6, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[25] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64*, SS8, Seneca, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[26] Thompson Family Papers, obituary from an unknown newspaper article with unknown date associated.

[27] Newspaper article, "Freeman vs. Brown", unknown origin and date but found Ruthven TV Room, 2 of 5, document #54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[28] David Thompson I estate had to pay a total of $3,168.23 to Brown's heirs. Details of the settlement found: *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870*, February 21, 1868, pp 84, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[29] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[30] Court of Probate, MS638 (68), Ontario Archives, Toronto.

[31] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[32] Confirmation that Craigie was the Postmaster in 1855, TV room, 4 of 5, #15 and 16, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[33] "Names of Stockholders", *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, May 7, 1852, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[34] *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, February 16, 1853, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[35] The last entry that lists John Craigie as a director was on October 20, 1855. See: *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[36] The Board of Directors of the Indiana Bridge Company met "at the offices of Craigie and Rogers" on November 8, 1853. See *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[37] The Board of Directors of the Indiana Bridge Company met "at John Craigie's office" on February 28, 1855. See *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[38] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[39] Advertisement, *Cayuga Sachem*, May 26, 1854.

[40] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[41] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[42] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62, no pg #,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[43] TV room, 2 of 5, #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[44] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[45] The first mention of the Finlen name was in the years between 1840 and 1844 when George was a labourer for Thompson I. Miles Finlen was first mentioned in 1842 in the Seneca Plan. In reconstructing the family it appears that brothers (or cousins) arrived from Ireland sometime during the 1840's: George, Miles, Michael, Thomas and Ned. I am surmising that a second Michael, who died in 1852, was a cousin or relative of the others. Further, Julia Finlon, who died Oct 11, 1848 – aged 51 years was likely the mother of some or all of the six men mentioned; this information was derived from Census records as well as St. Patrick's Church records in Caledonia.

[46] Seneca Plan, 1842.

[47] Dan Walker, Unpublished Manuscript, 2007.

[48] Personal communication with Tom Houlihan, great-great grandson of Miles Finlen, January 7, 2009.

[49] Patrick baptized on Mar 26, 1843, age 3 weeks, St Basil's church records, Brantford.

[50] Information derived from various sources, including Census records and St Patrick's Church Caledonia records.

[51] These lots were originally purchased by the Catholic Church for a manse in Indiana in 1847. Finlen purchased them from the Church in June 4, 1850 and they were not sold until 1881 when he left Indiana. See: Indiana Land Registry Records, pp 25, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[52] All sales were recorded in the Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga, multiple pages numbers.

[53] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 74, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[54] As noted in the 1861 Census for Haldimand County.

[55] Andrew Ruthven Thompson, "The Story of Indiana when it was a Village with 600 or more Population and one of the important Business Centres along the Grand River", *The Haldimand Advocate*, Thursday August 3, 1950; Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports, 1868.

[56] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[57] Indiana Bridge Co, Names of Stockholders, May 7, 1852, *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[58] November 8, 1853, *Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company"*, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[59] TV room, 2 of 5, Doc #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[60] Minutes of SS No 8, Indiana, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[61] Document in artifact room, Col ATT trunk, 8, #2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[62] Document located in artifact room, Col ATT trunk, 8, #4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[63] X97B.1033.1b, 9H "Ina", Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[64] Letter from Alexander Macduff, Deans, to David Thompson, Ottawa, March 8, 1880, attic pigeonhole56, #49 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[65] Letter from Alexander Macduff, Deans, to David Thompson, Ottawa, April 22, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #75 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[66] From a letter written by AM Kinnear to Thompson, March 27, 1880, Attic Pigeonhole 10A, #9, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[67] Thompson, *The Haldimand Advocate*,1950; The personality of Finlen seems to have been remarkably like that of Charles McKiernan, otherwise known as Joe Beef, of Montreal. Though McKiernan may have had a wider influence, it would seem that Finlen had a similar way about him. See: Peter DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-class culture and the Tavern, 1869-89", *Canadian Working-Class History: Selected Readings, 3rd Edition*, (eds.) Laurel Sefton Macdowell and Ian Radforth, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006), 104-124.

[68] The patron-client relationship was obvious here between Thompson and Finlen. For a more comprehensive look at the subject, see SJR Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics, 1791-1896*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

[69] There are a few references to his sense of humour. For example, Alexander Macduff reported to David Thompson that, "Miles caught us talking and he had a good joke on me afterwards..." Attic pigeonhole 56, #45 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Thompson, "The Story of Indiana Village", 1950.

[70] 1871 Census for Haldimand County; *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881*; *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 55, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[71] Miles must have been considered a decent risk to loan money to because many other people were lent money at up to 10% interest. See: *Bills Receivable and Bills Payable, 1856-1868,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[72] Artifact room, Col ATT metal trunk, 26, #8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[73] Anne was listed in the 1881 Census for Haldimand County but in the Land Registry Records from 1881, Miles was listed as a "widow".

[74] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[75] Personal communication with Suzanne Hutty, June 2008, relative of the Hutty family of Indiana.

[76] Personal communication with Suzanne Hutty, June 2008, relative of the Hutty family of Indiana.

[77] Time sheet for Dam #1, October 1876, attic pigeonhole 14AA, #16 front; Time sheet for Dam #1, November 1876; attic pigeonhole 14AA, #19 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[78] *Isolated Risk and farmers' Fire Insurance Company of Canada*, Head Office in Toronto, 25th January, 1876 on Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Indiana, attic pigeonhole 32A, #9 top and bottom, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[79] Attic pigeonhole 21, #29, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[80] Personal communication with Suzanne Hutty; 1871 and 1881 Census records for Haldimand County.

[81] 1881 Census for Binbrook.

[82] Attic pigeonhole 2, #3 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[83] Attic pigeonhole 38A, #19, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[84] Artifact room, Col ATT metal trunk, 26, #8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[85] Personal communication with Suzanne Hutty; *Hamilton Spectator*, June 15, 1915.

[86] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[87] William was paid by the GRNC for services rendered, *General Journal, 1834 to 1849*, pp 2 Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[88] Notes to Miller, attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[89] Information gleaned from the 1861 Census for Haldimand County.

[90] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[91] He was noted as a lock tender in the 1861 and 1871 censuses but he was also listed as that in the *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[92] 1881 Census for Haldimand County.

[93] List of Property of David Thompson, Esq., Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[94] Dan Walker, Unpublished Manuscript, 2007.

[95] Attic pigeonhole 10AB, #68 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[96] Muster roll for Indiana Home Guard, X97B.1033.1b, 9H "Ina", Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[97] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[98] Artifact room, Col ATT metal trunk, 26, #8 Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[99] Records of St. Stephens Church, Cayuga.

[100] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[101] *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[102] Attic pigeonhole 22AB, #29 - 2 pages; attic pigeonhole 22AB, #33, 3 pages; attic pigeonhole 21, #37, 4 pages; attic pigeonhole 22AB, #30, 2 pages; Document dated 1865, Small Land Book, located in Andrew Thompson Box, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[103] X97B.1033.1b, 9H "Ina" Haldimand County Archives, Cayuga; *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[104] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[105] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[106] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[107] Artifact room, Col ATT metal trunk, 26, #8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[108] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[109] An early draft of this biography was used in John Triggs, *Archaeological Investigations at the Village of Indiana (AfGx-120), Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga*, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Field School Report, 2008).

[110] *Mitchell's Canada Business Directory*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[111] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 72, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[112] *Mitchell's Canada Business Directory*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[113] Lease between James Lees, Carder and David Thompson, April 30, 1864, attic pigeonhole 22A, #18 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[114] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 343, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[115] *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[116] Bills Receivable and Payable Journal, 1856-68, March 10, 1867, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[117] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[118] Bloomfield and Bloomfield *Canadian,* 1990, 26; 1871 Census for Haldimand County.

[119] Attic pigeonhole 49, Diary from 1873, #2-137; *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[120] Check Roll for Indiana, attic pigeonhole 19A, #21B front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[121] There were numerous references to Mary Lees working for the Thompson's. See for example: *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 89, 186 and 336, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[122] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[123] Indenture between James and Jane Lees and David and Elizabeth Thompson, attic pigeonhole 22AB1, #7, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[124] *Victoria Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Canada*, Head Office, Hamilton Ontario, February 1, 1877, on House on Grand River St, Indiana owned by James Lees, attic pigeonhole 32A, #5 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[125] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 292, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[126] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881*, pp 450, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[127] Letter from Wills Murdoch to David Thompson, 19th April 1880, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[128] *Illustrated Historical Atlas County Haldimand*, (Toronto: HR Page and Co, 1879), 5 and 22.

[129] Records of St. Johns Church, York.

[130] Census records from 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881 for Haldimand County.

[131] Records of St. Johns Church, York.

[132] Basement Recroom, Buffet, Doc 1C, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[133] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[134] There are numerous entries to this effect in Thompson's books. See for example: *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*; *Indiana Blotter #1, Jun 1858-Mar 1860*; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*; attic pigeonhole 56, #76 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[135] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 14 and 89; Statement from Thomas Lester to David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 33B, #40 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[136] Minutes Indiana Bridge Company, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[137] Minutes of the "Indiana Bridge Company", X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[138] *Mitchell's Canada Business Directory*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[139] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[140] Bruce Emmerson Hill *The Grand River Navigation Company*, (Brantford: Brant Historical Society Publications, 1994), 57.

[141] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 27.

[142] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 317 Ruthven Park Archives; *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Counties Haldimand and Norfolk*, (HR Page and Co, Toronto, 1877), 22.

[143] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[144] P Martin, *Michael G Martin*, unpublished manuscript, 2007, 11.

[145] St Patrick's Church Caledonia, records.

[146] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[147] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[148] *Indiana Cash book, 1858-1864,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[149] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 74, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[150] Letter, Oct 11, 1856 from Andrew Thompson to Archibald Thompson, artifact room, Col ATT trunk, 18, #1F, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[151] April 4, 1857, John Craigie, clerk, sent the indenture to David Thompson I executors, attic pigeonhole 13AB #16, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[152] April 1, 1858, John Lynch signed an indenture with David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #3, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[153] March 6, 1860, John Lynch signed an indenture with David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #4, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[154] Lease, April 13, 1864, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #5, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[155] *Bills Receivable and Payable Journal, 1856-68*, October 27, 1867, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[156] Indenture between John Lynch and David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #2, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[157] *The Canada Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company*, Hamilton, January 19, 1873, on Lots 4 and 5, River Range, Indiana – leased to J. Lynch, found: attic pigeonhole 32A, #16B front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[158] Attic pigeonhole 21, #37, 4 pages; attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #4, 2 pgs; attic pigeonhole 38A, #19, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[159] *Victoria Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Canada*, Head Office, Hamilton, March 2, 1882 for Lynch Place, for a period of three years, attic pigeonhole 32, #22 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[160] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, pp 23, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[161] John Lynch Accounts with David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 61B, #4B front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[162] John Lynch Accounts with David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 33B, #38 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[163] *Bills Receivable and Bills Payable, 1856-1868,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[164] "Indiana Side Walk Papers: Resolutions", TV Room, 2 of 5, File #53, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[165] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[166] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[167] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[168] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 89, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[169] Indenture, basement recroom, large buffet, 1 of 3, #24, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[170] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, April 22, 1879, attic pigeonhole 56, #1, pages 1 to 2, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[171] Dan Walker, Unpublished Manuscript, 2007.

[172] Artifact room, Col ATT trunk, 26, #8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[173] Records of St. Stephens, Cayuga.

[174] As noted in a letter between Alexander Macduff and David Thompson, Nov 4, 1876, attic pigeonhole 63A, #2D, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[175] Mill Statement, 1876-1877, attic pigeonhole 55A, #4 front, Ruthven Park Archives; Numerous cheques made out to Alexander Macduff for wheat at Ruthven Mill, see for example attic pigeonhole 25BA, #1, pg 1-22, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[176] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp. 202, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[177] The first correspondence between them was February 3, 1879, attic pigeonhole 56, #16 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[178] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, March 6, 1879, attic pigeonhole #56, #23 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[179] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, April 3, 1879, attic pigeonhole 56, #3 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[180] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, February 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #38 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[181] Letter to D. Thompson, Esq., MP, Ottawa from A Macduff, Deans, April 23, 1880, attic pigeonhole 56, #80 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[182] Attic pigeonhole 56, #80 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[183] Indenture, Jan 10, 1879, attic pigeonhole 21, #35, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[184] The last letter written from Macduff to Thompson from Cayuga was on June 20, 1881, attic pigeonhole 10AB, #48, 2 pages; The first letter from Poplar Heights came on August 12, 1881 from Macduff to Thompson, attic pigeonhole 25BA, #25 pages 1-4, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[185] Letter from Macduff in Winnipeg to Thompson, attic pigeonhole 25BA, #15 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[186] Letter from Alexander Macduff in Abington, Scotland to David Thompson in Deans, attic pigeonhole 25BA, #18 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[187] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[188] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[189] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860;Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-1862,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[190] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[191] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-1862,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[192] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[193] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62, pages 3-10,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[194] TV room, 2 of 5, Doc #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[195] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62, no pg #,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[196] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[197] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, pages 18-19, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[198] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 68 and 84; attic pigeonhole 33A, #38, front inside pg 1; attic pigeonhole 33A, 38A p 6 and 7, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[199] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[200] Attic pigeonhole 10AB, #68, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[201] Indenture, July 25, 1862, artifact room, 18 of 19, #13, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[202] *Bills Receivable and Bills Payable, 1856-1868,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[203] Indenture between Peter McMullen and Haldimand Navigation Company, artifact room, 18 of 19, #15, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[204] *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[205] *1867 Gazetteer, County Haldimand.*

[206] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 11, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[207] Accounts for Peter McMullen, attic pigeonhole 33A, #38, front inside, pg 1; attic pigeonhole 33A, #38A, pg 243; attic pigeonhole 33A, #38A p 445; attic pigeonhole 33A, 38A pp 6 and 7, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[208] *The Canada Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company*, Hamilton, January 20, 1876, on E side of Colborne Street, known as the McMullen House, attic pigeonhole 32A, #12 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[209] Account from WR Smart, Agent who collected rents in Caledonia for David Thompson, July 10, 1880, attic pigeonhole 60C, #50A front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[210] List of people who rented from Mrs. Thompson in Caledonia, found in a statement by D McGregor, May 16, 1889, attic pigeonhole 10A2B, #37, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[211] 1842 Seneca Plan; Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859, no page #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[212] Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859, no page #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[213] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[214] Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[215] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[216] *1867 Gazetteer, Seneca Township.*

[217] Alexander was mentioned in various documents as having purchased or sold items to Ruthven Mills and the Thompson stores. He was last mentioned in the 1891 Census for Haldimand County.

[218] Minutes Indiana Br Company, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[219] Alexander was listed as 41 in the 1871 Census for Haldimand County and 61 years of age in the 1891 Census. Based on that, it is assumed that Alexander was approximately 22 years of age when he was President of the Indiana Bridge Company.

[220] The information was derived from the 1871 and 1891 Census Records for Haldimand County.

[221] *General Journal 1870-1877,* pp. 22, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[222] See for example: attic pigeonhole 57, #5 front; attic pigeonhole 57, #3 front; attic pigeonhole 57, #14A, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[223] There were multiple references to his witnessing things for Thompson. See for example, attic pigeonhole 23, #37, 2 pages; attic pigeonhole 22AB, #10, 2 pages; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 70, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[224] *Receipts for: Ruthven Mills, Indiana 1874*, attic pigeonhole 25AA, #56, pg 1-93, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[225] Letter about various happenings at Indiana to TW Oxley, attic pigeonhole #24AB, Doc 56, front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[226] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[227] Attic pigeonhole 24AB, Doc 56 front (letter instructing Oxley from Thompson), Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[228] Time sheet for Dam #1, August 1876, attic pigeonhole 14AA, #20 front; Time sheet for Dam #1, October 1876, attic pigeonhole14AA, #16 front; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 306, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[229] Dan Walker, Unpublished Manuscript, 2007.

[230] As found in the 1871 Census record for Haldimand County.

[231] Various documents, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; *Indiana Land Registry Records*, pp 1, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[232] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 327 and pp 176, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[233] *Indiana Land Registry Records*, Page 26, Registry Office Cayuga.

[234] Various documents, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[235] As noted in the 1871 Census record for Haldimand County.

[236] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881,* pp 420, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[237] Letter from John Hudson to David Thompson, April 16, 1872, attic pigeonhole 21, #37, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[238] In the 1871 Census for Haldimand County Ellen was listed as a school mistress.

[239] Rental agreement between Mrs. Slaven and David Thompson noted *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp. 157; Insurance Policy from *The Royal Insurance Company of Liverpool, British and Foreign*, Montreal, August 13, 1874 on Lot 1, South of Canboro Street, Indiana – otherwise known as the "Slaven property", attic pigeonhole 32A, #15 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[240] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 420, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[241] John G Stevenson, Judge of the County Court, County of Haldimand, ordered that Ellen Slave, wife of Thomas Slaven, may sell and convey the lots they owned, November 7, 1878. Indiana Land Registry Records, pp 19, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[242] *General Journal 1870-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[243] *Canada Fire and Marine Insurance Co,* Head Office Hamilton, Ontario, August 8, 1877 on Slaven House and Store, attic pigeonhole 32, #28 front and back; Interestingly, Thompson also insured the same house with The Royal Insurance Company of Liverpool, for three years for $600, attic pigeonhole 32A, #15, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[244] Indenture between Ellen Slaven and David Thompson, Feb 2, 1882, attic pigeonhole 13AA, #36A, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[245] Letter from David Thompson, MP, House of Commons to JR Martin, attic pigeonhole 27B, #33 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[246] Personal communication with Suzanne Hutty, September 2007; confirmed by the 1871 census for Haldimand County.

[247] Lease between James Upton and David Thompson, Mar 17,1866, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #31, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[248] Lease between James Upton and David Thompson, Mar 9, 1868, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #33, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[249] Indenture between James Upton and David Thompson, Dec 28, 1869, attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #13, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[250] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[251] X97B.1033.1b, 9H "Ina", Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[252] Accounts with James Upton for David Thompson, attic pigeonhole 33B, #18 front; attic pigeonhole 33B, #23 front; attic pigeonhole 33A, #45 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[253] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[254] Attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[255] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[256] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1869*, pp 219; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp. 23, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[257] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 31.

[258] Personal communication with Suzanne Hutty, September 2007; confirmed by the 1871 census for Haldimand County.

[259] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[260] Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[261] 1861 Census Record for Haldimand County.

[262] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, no pg #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[263] All information derived from the 1861 Census for Haldimand County.

[264] TV Room, 2 of 5, #52, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[265] Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[266] *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[267] *Bills Receivable and Bills Payable, 1856-1868*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

Appendix B - Occupations and Census Categories for Men in Indiana, by Decade

Occupation	1830's	1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's	1880's	1890's	1900's	total
accountant			1						1
agent					1	1			2
architect		1			1				2
artist				1					1
Attorney			1						1
bachelor							1		1
baggage master						1			1
baker	2	1							3
baliff					1				1
Baptist Priest	1								1
blacksmith	11		3	3	5	3			25
boardinghouse	1								1
boater/boatman	2	3	1						6
bookkeeper			1	1					2
boot maker			1		1				2
brickmaker	2		1						3
bridge builder				1					1
bush hand			2						2
butcher		1	3	1					5
butler			1						1
cabinet maker	1		2						3
canaler	16								16
captain	3	1	1						5
carder/fuller			1		1				2
Assistant carder				1					1
caretaker						1			1
carpenter	18	5	24	12	5	3	1		68
Catholic priest	2	6	4		3	1	3		19
Cayuga chief	1								1
chairmaker	1								1
child		2	29	44	52	21	1		149
clerk	3	1	2	3	3				12
clerk of court	1		1		1				3
clerk/merchant			1						1
clerk/postmaster	1				2				3
clockmaker				1					1
clothier				1					1
coachman					2				2
commissioner		1		1					2
consigner				1					1
constable/sargeant	3								3
contractor	6			3	1				10
convict			1	2					3
cooper	2		3	2	3				10
culler			1						1
deceased		1	3	2					6
deck hand		2							2
depth surveyor	1								1
distiller	1		2	1					4
domestic							1		1

Appendix B - Occupations and Census Categories for Men in Indiana, by Decade

Occupation	1830's	1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's	1880's	1890's	1900's	total
dyer/scourer				1					1
engine driver					1				1
engineer	5								5
Assistant engineer		1							1
factory owner			2	1					3
farmer	6	4	41	57	43	11	3	1	166
farm labor							4		4
farmer/laborer	8	1	17	10	2				38
farmer/teamster		1	4	4					9
tenant farmer		1	2	4	4	6			17
ferry operator	1								1
fiddler	2								2
foreman	5	1				1	1		8
founder	2								2
furntiture maker	1								1
gardener			1		4	2	2		9
gentleman						1			1
grain buyer						1			1
GRNC	3		2						5
grocer				1					1
Hal Nav Co					2				2
hired boy	1		1		1				3
hired man	2	1	10	1					14
hoop maker		1			1				2
Indian	1	8	3	1					13
innkeeper			6	1		1			8
inspector		1							1
jailor			1						1
joiner	1								1
JP/Magistrate			2		2	1			5
judge					1				1
laborer	521	120	117	229	103	21	2		1113
laborer/innkeeper	1		4	1	1				7
laborer/teamster	1		7	1					9
landowner			2						2
lawyer		1							1
Lieutenant	1	1							2
lock tender			1						1
lumberman	3	1	1		1				6
lumber merchant				1					1
machinist		1		3	1				5
mail carrier		1							1
manufacturer		1	1	1	1				4
mariner	1			1					2
mason	4	2	7	2		1	2		18
merchant		1	4	4	2	1			12
merchant/postmaster			2						2
Miller	3		8	7	10				28
Assistant Miller			2	1	5				8

Appendix B - Occupations and Census Categories for Men in Indiana, by Decade

Occupations	1830's	1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's	1880's	1890's	1900's	total
Mill owner				1					1
millwright			6						6
miner					2	1			3
Minister		1	1	1					3
ns		5	44	48	24	25	6	1	153
packer			1						1
painter	1	1	5	4					11
pauper				1		1			2
paymaster				1					1
physician/MD			1	2					3
plasterer	1		1						2
plumber					1				1
postmaster	1		1		1				3
printer				1					1
pumpmaker	1		1						2
railroad contractor					1				1
railroad station engineer							1		1
railway laborer					1	1			2
railway worker - misc						2			2
repairman				1	1				2
Royal navy	5	2							7
sadler					1				1
sailor					2				2
sawyer	5	1	10				1		17
scow master	1	1							2
security	3	1	5	2					11
seneca chief			1						1
servant				2	3	1			6
house servant				1					1
shanty cook			1			1			2
sheriff			1				1		2
deputy sheriff	2	1							3
shingle maker			4	2					6
shingle weaver	1								1
ship carpenter	3								3
ship joiner	1								1
shoemaker	9	4	3	4	3				23
student - college					1	1			2
supervisor	1								1
surveyor	2	1	1						4
tailor	3	2							5
tanner				2					2
tavern keeper			2	1					3
teacher	2	2	1	4	2				11
teamster			2	4	4				10
telegraph operator					1				1
tinsmith			1		2				3
toll keeper			1						1
wagon maker	1	1	1		1				4

Appendix B - Occupations and Census Categories for Men in Indiana, by Decade

Occupation	1830's	1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's	1880's	1890's	1900's	total
weaver				1					1
well digger			1						1
whitesmith				1					1
widow					2				2
wood chopper	3								3
wood cutter			1		2				3
totals	698	197	435	497	322	111	30	2	2292

total # of wage earners = 1977 (86.3% of male population)

Appendix C: Average Wages for Indiana workers per day, by decade*

	Women				**Men**			
	$/day	n=	Low	High	$/day	n=	Low	High
1830's	n/a				n/a			
1840's	0.15	2	0.15	0.15	n/a			
1850's	0.21	2	0.19	0.23	0.95	16	0.29	2.08
1860's	0.18	29	0.10	0.38	0.88	135	0.46	2.00
1870's	0.28	57	0.15	0.48	0.75	564	0.38	2.50
1880's	0.29	2	0.27	0.31	1.25	1	1.25	1.25
1890's	n/a				n/a			

*Information compiled from documents in the Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park

Appendix D

Length of time people stayed in and around Indiana

length of stay	# of people	% of pop
1 yr & less	1567	51
2-5 yrs	615	19.9
6-10 yrs	332	10.8
11-15 yrs	198	6.3
16-20 yrs	107	3.5
21-25 yrs	95	3.1
26-30 yrs	57	1.9
31 + yrs *	108	3.5
total	3079	100

* 8 Thompson family members were included becaused they were buried in the Ruthven Cemetery and ultimately, therefore ended up at Indiana but they did not actually reside in Indiana that many years

Appendix E

Occupations and Census Categories for Children and Young Adults in Indiana and Deans, 1830-1900

Age	4-7.		8-10.		11-13.		14-16		17-19		
sex	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	**total**
blacksmith					1				1		**2**
boardinghouse								2			**2**
carder/fuller			1								**1**
clerk							1				**1**
dressmaker										2	**2**
domestic								1			**1**
farmer	2		1		1		2	2	1	4	**13**
hired boy/man										2	**2**
hired girl								3		2	**5**
innkeeper									1		**1**
keeping house										1	**1**
laborer	6		9	1	23	2	14	5	21	3	**84**
merchant									1		**1**
milliner										1	**1**
security									1		**1**
servant						1		7	1	8	**17**
shanty cook									1		**1**
shingle maker									1		**1**
shoemaker									1		**1**
stone mason									1		**1**
student - college							1		1		**2**
teacher									1	4	**5**
totals	8	0	11	1	25	3	18	20	33	27	**146**

total child and youth = 562
none specified = 416

Appendix F: List of Teachers Hired in Indiana

Gavin Robinson: 1835-1841[1]
John Williams: 1839-1840[2]
William Johnston: 1840[3]
Samuel McClung: 1843[4]
Hubbert Williams: 1843-1844[5]
Peter Williams: 1843-1844[6]
James Callinan: 1860[7]-1871[8] (According to the 1861 census, he had an average
attendance of 40 Students)
G.A Lannon: 1861[9]
Lawrence McCoy: 1861-1862[10]
James Brown: 1863[11]
Isabella Lillian Murdoch: 1866-1881: first female teacher in Indiana[12]
William Sinclair: 1866-1867[13]
Edward Slaven: 1867-1869[14]
Ellen Slaven: 1871 – census
Agnes Turnbell: 1873 - 1st teacher in new brick school house, built by Peter McKay in 1873[15]
Catherine Lynch: 1881[16]
Grace Murray: 1884 – contract for 1 year[17]
Ada Leroy: 1891[18]

Endnotes

[1] *General Ledger 1834-1849; Petty Ledger #4, 1839-40,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga Ontario.

[2] *Petty Ledger #4, 1839-40,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[3] *Petty Ledger #4, 1839-40,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[4] *Petty Ledger #6, 1842-44,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[5] *Petty Ledger #6, 1842-44,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[6] *Petty Ledger #6, 1842-44,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[7] He was first hired as a teacher in Indiana in 1860, David Thompson hired him. *School Section No 8, Indiana - Minute book of school*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[8] He was a teacher as noted in the 1871 Census for Haldimand County; *1867 Gazatteer, Indiana*, listed him as a teacher.

[9] Hired in 1861 at $400 per annum, *SSNo 8, Indiana - Minute book of school,* Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[10] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[11] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64*, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[12] SSNo 8, Indiana - *Minute book of school*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga; 1871 "School Mistress" in Census record; Jan 1, 1880 - Section #8 School Trustees hired her and gave her a teaching contract for one year for $300, *Contract*, attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #4, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; The 1881 Census for Haldimand County lists her as a public school teacher.

[13] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 106, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[14] 1867 Gazatteer, Indiana; according to SS#8 Minute book, he was paid $360/yr as a teacher.

[15] *SSNo 8, Indiana - Minute book of school*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[16] It was noted in the 1881 Census for Haldimand County that she was a public school teacher.

[17] *Contract*, attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #11, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[18] It was noted in the 1891 Census for Haldimand County that she was a public school teacher.

Appendix G: List of Names of People in Various Occupations in Indiana

Blacksmiths in Indiana: John Adams 1859; John Adams (2) 1881; Thomas Baylis 1877-1878, Joseph Dochstader 1839-1842; John Evans 1866-1868; John Gidley 1874-1875; Samuel Hood 1834; George Kirkland 1871-1874, James McClory 1861-1871, Thomas McClory 1861, Hugh McCulloch 1851-1859, Daniel McKay 1833-1839; Joseph Mellon 1867-1877; Michael McKeown (McKeowen, McCewan, McEwen) 1859-1881; Joseph Monture 1832-1841; Joshua Parker 1881; Robert Percy 1871; Dan Phelps 1833-1838; John Poole 1871 [had 2 employees in 1871[1]]; Alexander Robb 1869-1875; James Sims 1835-1837; Joseph Sims 1833-1838; James Stack 1851-1867; James Stuart 1834-1838; William Wilson 1835

Governesses:
Catherine Elizabeth Scobie: 1865-1874[2]; Miss Thompson: 1872-1873[3]; Miss C Fuller: 1874[4]; Miss Craigie: 1875-1880 at Ruthven[5]

Innkeepers & Boarding House Keepers
Salmon Minor: 1833-1837 (pd to board labourers for Thompson I)[6]
Eleanor McKeefer: 1833[7]-1838[8]
Barton Farr: 1838[9]
John Fitzimmons Hotel, Indiana, 1852-1861 (Indiana Bridge Co executive met there)[10]
Hiram Humphrey: 1852 (pd to board Patrick Holland by Thompsons executors)[11]
Michael Martin: 1856 (pd by Thompson II to board Michael Doran, toll keeper)[12]- 1859[13]
Mrs Julia Leroy: 1856 (Pd to board John McCue for $2/week)[14] - 1860[15]
Mrs. Jane Shipway: 1858 (Pd to board millwrights)[16]
WF Moore, 1858 (pd to board Steven Fenton, packer)[17]
Michael Martin: 1859 – pd to board millwrights[18]; in 1862 he was paid to board men in shanty[19]
Patrick Farrell: proprietor Anglo-American Hotel 1864-1868[20]
John Farrell: 1861-1873[21]; 1871 (James Boag, George Adams, Dennis Kenney, John O'Connell, Thomas McQuatty, John Quinn, Thomas Webb and Charles Farrell boarded at his hotel)[22]
Thomas Shipway: 1862 (pd to board Mr Carrol)[23] to 1899[24]
Miles Finlen: 1864-1869[25], proprietor of the Indiana Hotel[26]
Eliza (Ellen) Barry, proprietor Royal Oak Inn in 1867[27]: 1867, 1870 and 1871 Thompson II paid to board workers with Ellen[28]; 1871 (Alexander Kinnear, Richard Baker, George Fissette, Wm Irwin, Joseph Taylor and Andrew Jackman, laborers, George Shipway, teamster boarded there)[29]
Michael Madigan: 1871 to 1880[30] (Joseph Appleton boarded there - he couldn't read or write; so did Patrick Arnold)[31]
Thomas Powers: 1871 (boarded Catherine Callaghan widow, Alice Quinlin widow)[32]
Thomas Finlen: 1871 (boarded William Fagan - sailor, William Porter- labourer)[33]
John Cochrane: 1871 (boarded William, Miller & his wife Mary– tinsmith, Abiather Wright and his wife Margaret - farmer)[34]
Peter McKay: 1871 (boarded James Cronk, 2nd miller)[35]
Miss Hampton, 1874 (James Lees boarded for 8 weeks with her)[36]
George Shipway: 1874-1875 (board of Wm Synes and family)[37]; 1881 (boarded John Brooks)[38]
John Switzer: 1879 (provided board for dam labourers)[39]
Patrick Cannon: 1881-1892[40]

Magistrates
David Thompson I: 1836[41]; James Kirkland: 1864[42]; Thomas Lester: 1864[43]; James Cook: 1867[44]; David Thompson II: 1867[45]; John Lynch: 1867[46]; William Young: 1867[47]; Alexander Kinnear: 1867[48]; Thomas Slaven: 1867[49]; Thomas Blakeney: 1874[50]

Merchants
Richard Brown: 1842[51]
Robert Henry Street 1851-1855 (rented store from Thompson's executors)[52]; *Cayuga Sachem*,

April 29 1853 – advertisement
John Craigie: 1852[53]-1865[54]
William Waugh: 1857-1866[55]
Daniel Heenan: 1861-1864[56]
Charles McKenna: 1861-1868[57]
James Hill, 1867 (rented store from Thompson II), proprietor: Indiana Brick and Tile Manufactory "tiles in every variety and cheap"[58]
Patrick Heenan: 1866[59]
Michael Madigan, grocer: 1867-1869[60]
Patrick Finlen, 1869-1870
Patrick Farrell, 1868-1873[61]
AM Kinnear: 1870, Oak Lumber merchant
Thomas Lester: 1870, lumber merchant
Albert Sweet: 1870 - Millfield flooring and lumber[62]
Thomas Slaven, 1861 (rented store from Thompson II, invested $1500),[63] 1872-1874[64]
Charles Farrell, 1873-1874[65]
CE Bourne, 1874-1875
J Young and Co, 1872-1874

Mill Owners in Indiana
David Thompson I
Robert Atkins, Plaster Mill: 1843 (Mill at "at east end of dam in Indiana at Lock 1")[66]
Thomas Lester, saw mill and shingles and pail factory: 1851-1869[67], "employs 6 men, 2 women, Water power, worth $3500, pine lumber" in 1861 Census; mill employed 5 in 1871[68], estimated that they produced 50 dozen pails/week and it was said to supply "the Hamilton market".[69]
Thomas C Mussen, pail factory: 1851-1859[70]
John H Rogers: 1852-1863 - rented the saw mill from Thomsons executors in 1852 and that continued till 1863[71]; in 1861 he paid $500 for 1 years rent[72]
John, James and William Cook: plaster mill between 1852 and 1857[73]; Plaster Mill at east end of dam, Lock No1 Indiana[74]
David Thompson II: 1861 Census - $15000 invested, 6 carriages for pleasure $1000, hired 4 men in mill, water power
James Lees: 1866-1878, Proprietor of Ruthven Woolen Factory, 5 employs in 1867[75], 3 employees in 1871[76]
James Hill: 1867 Indiana Brick and Tile Manufactory[77]
George Kirkland rented Mill Site No 3, no water access, in Indiana between 1876 and 1878[78]
George and Christopher Stevenson, Deans Saw Mill: 1877-1878[79]

Millers in Indiana:
Grist
John Walker, miller: 1839[80]
Alexander Mitchell, miller: 1851-1859[81]
William F Moore, 1st miller: 1857-1859[82]
John Woolaway, 1st miller: 1859[83]-1867[84]
William Woolaway, 1st miller: 1860[85]-1869[86]
George H Comer: 1871-1874[87] - in 1872 he couldn't work as he has "Erysiphalus" in face and head[88] and then was "able to attend mill with assistance from Oxley"[89]
Alex Tait, miller: 1873-1874[90]
Moore Hill, 1st miller: 1873-1875[91]
William Tait, 1st miller: 1875-1880[92]
John Ralston, 1st miller: 1884[93]

John Woolaway, 2nd miller: 1857-1858[94]
Fletcher Landry, 2nd miller – Grist: 1858[95]

Corey Comer, 2nd miller - Grist: 1869[96]
James Cronk 2nd miller – Grist: 1871[97]
Edward Sparling, 2nd miller: 1872[98]
William Simpson, 2nd miller: 1872[99]-1874[100]
Thomas Tait, 2nd miller: 1874-1875[101]
Horace Young, 2nd miller: 1874[102]
George Addison, 2nd miller – Grist: 1877-1878, "discharged for "slack time"[103]

Andrew Gorman, 3rd miller: 1877-1878[104]

Stephen Fenton, 1st packer: 1857-1859[105]
William Woolaway, 2nd packer: 1857-1859[106]

Saw Mill
Norris Humphry, saw miller: 1851[107]

Carding Mill
James Lees, Carding and Fulling Mill: 1864-1878[108] - "Dyer and Scourer" 1860 & 1864[109]
William Lees, Assistant carder: 1862-1863[110]

Millwrights:
David Ryckman: 1851-1852[111]; Sylvester Stephens: 1852[112]; William Baker: 1852[113]; Andrew Melville: 1852[114]
John Robertson: 1864-1878[115]

Post Master: Indiana
William Fitch (first postmaster): 1836[116]; Richard Brown: 1841-1850[117]; Robert Street: 1854[118]; John Craigie, 1854-1858[119]; David Thompson II: 1858-1862[120]; Charles McKenna, 1866-1868[121]; James Hill: 1868[122]; Charles McKenna: 1868[123]; Patrick Finlin: 1869[124]; Patrick Farrell, 1870[125]-1873[126]; Thomas Slaven, 1873[127]; Charles Farrell, 1874[128]; Thomas William Oxley: 1874-1877[129]; William Tait: 1882-1884[130]; Mrs. EA Renshaw: 1887-1890[131]; Morris Shipway: 1890-1900[132]; Thomas Shipway: 1900-1915[133]; Post office closed April 30, 1915[134]

Shoemakers
John Sinclair 1832-1838; Thomas Wiggins 1833-1838; Henry Finn 1836-1838; Peter Irwin 1839; Edward Lane 1839; Robert Hamilton 1839; James Stoat 1839-1840; Martin Cullen 1843; Henry Penny 1843-1844; William Burge 1851-1854; Francis Repty (Reptie, Robataille) 1857-1868; Morris Shipway 1859-1871; Joseph Devine 1861; Daniel McGuire 1861; Daniel McKenna 1861; Andrew Devine 1861-1869; Thomas McQuatty 1871; William Morrison 1871; George Adams 1871; Dennis Kenney 1871-1873; Elijah Spencer 1871-1878; John Hewitt 1881-1891

Tavern Keepers
Maria Shipway: 1858-1861[135]
John Lynch: 1858-1859[136]
Miles Finlen: 1861-1868[137],1861 Census, "Con 1, Lot 25, keeps a tavern on farm property"
John Fitzimmons: 1861 Census "whiskey is principal drink, 2 cows, 4 pigs"
Patrick Farrell: 1861-1868 tavern keeper "with whiskey, no ale, $1200 invested, 1 cow"[138]
Thomas Shipway: 1861 Census record
William Cutliff: 1868 tavern license for 1 year[139]
Eliza (Ellen) Barry, proprietor Royal Oak Inn, 1868 had tavern license[140]

Tenants in Indiana
Robert Reid: 1835-1837 – pd money to Thompson I for "Indiana house"[141]
Michael Scanlon (labourer): 1851-1853, rented Kerr house from Thompson's executors[142]
David Ryckman (millwright): 1852 – pd house rent in full[143]
William (Billie) Baker (millwright): 1852 – rented house from Thompsons executors[144]

John Robertson: 1852 – rented a house in Indiana from Thompsons executors[145]
James Rochester (cooper): 1853 rented lodge at Ruthven mansion[146]
Alexander Mitchell (miller): 1854 – rented new stone house from Thompsons executors[147]
John Farrell: 1860 – rented "Miller's House"[148]; 1862 (pd $6 for rent of house)
Michael White, 1861 (pd $39 for one yrs rent of house and garden); 1862 (same)[149]
John Madigan, 1862 (pd $4 for rent of dwelling over wagon house)[150]
William McKay: 1860 – rented lot[151]; 1870 continued renting lot for 2 yrs[152]
Edward McGovern: 1867 – rented house from Thompson II, "formerly owned by J Walters"[153]
Peter McKay: 1872 (pd $96 for 2 yrs rent of house in Indiana)[154], same year he rented a lot for 5 years[155]
Walter Percy: 1874 (pd $12 for rent of house and lot)[156]
James McFerran: 1874 (pd $12 for "rent of house and lot")[157]
Alexander Blair: 1876 rented lots 11 & 12 from Thompson II, for three years[158]
Alexander Macduff: 1879 rented lots 11 & 12 from Thompson II for $50/yr, for three years.[159]
Henry Upton: 1879 – rented lots 13 & 14, with dwelling house from Thompson II for $40/yr for 3 years[160]

Farmers

Tenant Farmers on Ruthven Homestead:

John Alexander "Mohawk"[161]: 1852 and 1853, 131 acres of homestead farm rented[162]; 1856 same[163]
James Barry: 1852 and 1856[164], rented part of Homestead farm – Thompson had the house repaired this year as well as installing a new cellar and fixing drains, plus digging a well and the stable was also repaired in 1853 and 1854 – the repairs were not paid until 1865 by Thompson II[165]
Edmund Bertram: 1852 house was painted for Bertram on Ruthven property[166]; 1853 – rented 171 acres of Homestead farm[167]; Bertram had a new house built for him by Thompsons executors on Ruthven property in 1853 by Dodds and Ruthverford, Carpenters[168]; he rented 171 acres again in 1854[169] - on June 30, 1870 the Bertram "dwelling house burned this morning"[170] Bertram sold butter, hay and oats to Thompson II from 1855 to 1859[171]; Thompson noted that Edmund died June 14, 1873[172]
James Rochester (cooper): 1853 – rented lodge at Ruthven mansion[173]
Miles Finlen: 1854 rented 63 acres of homestead farm, 1857 did the same again[174]
John Lynch: 1854 rented 63 acres [175] continued in 1857[176]; 1858 part lots 1-10, Ruthven homestead[177]; 1860,rented him part of Ruthven homestead and Slinks Island for 3 yrs[178]; paid in 1861 to rent Slink's Island $430[179], again on April 1 1862[180]; 1864 rented part lots 1-10 homestead farm for 10 years and paying rent of $300 yearly[181]; 1868 rented part lots 1-10 homestead farm for 10 years and paying rent of $300 yearly[182]; rented block of land, on Ruthven, known as "Block B" in 1872 for 10 years[183]; rented part of homestead farm for 10 yrs[184]; in 1872 Lynch sold Thompson milk, cream and potatoes[185]; in 1880 he leased part of Ruthven homestead for 10 year[186]; in 1881he rented part of Homestead farm for 10 years[187]; 1873 – bought lots in village of Deans from Thompson II[188], 1885 he bought lots 26 & 27 from David and Elizabeth Thompson for $6000[189]
Isaac Geddes: Apr 1, 1862 - 1 yrs rent of farm, 159 acres @ 2.25/acre[190]; 1870 – new house built on Ruthven farm property[191] and built to the specifications laid out by George Laing, architect[192]; in 1872 Geddes refused to pay rent and was sued by Thompson II.[193] Thompson won the case and received $994 from Geddes[194]
Wilkison Hargraves: 1864 (6 years) – "to be cleared & fenced by end of lease"[195]
George Robinson: 1864 (6 years) – "to be cleared & fenced by end of lease"[196]
John and James Spencer: 1866 (4 years) "to be cleared & fenced by end of lease"[197]; 1872 rented 50 acres for 5 years[198], plus land Hargraves had rented[199]; 1877 (3 years)
James Upton: 1866 "part of Ruthven Homestead, Slinks Island & farming implements for 2 yrs"[200]; 1868 – part lots 1-10 for 5 years, containing 130 acres[201]; 1869 rented 69 acres, listed as "M" on plan by E Decew for 10 years
Michael Lynch: 1867 leased part of Ruthven homestead[202]
Thomas Upton: 1869 rented 69 acres (shown as "M" on Decew map) for 10 years[203]; rented 2

parcels of Ruthven Farm March 1872 for $184.25[204] - Isaac Broughton "widow" boarded with Thomas[205]

William Leitch: 1869 rented 74 acres (shows as "L" on Decew map) for 10 years[206]; 1873 leased part of homestead for 5 years, formerly James Upton's land[207]; in 1880 he leased the land for 1 year[208]

Thomas Thornton: 1873 rented part of homestead for 1 year in exchange for grain, hay and root crops[209]

Peter Hutty: 1873 – "leased farms on part lots 1-10 River Range for $250/yr"[210]; in 1878 he leased part of Ruthven Homestead for 5 years[211]; in 1880 he leased the land for 1 yr[212]

William Hutty: 1873 - "leased farms on part lots 1-10 River Range for $250/yr"[213]; in 1880 he leased the land for 1 year[214]

Wills Murdoch: 1874 rented part of homestead farm, labeled "U" on Decew map, for 3 yrs in exchange for crop shares[215]; 1874 rented 67 acres labeled "M" on Decew map for 5 yrs[216] in 1880 he leased the land for 1 year[217]

Richard William Murdoch: 1883 rented part of homestead for 1 year

Other Tenant Farmers near Indiana

Wilkinson McKay: 1859 "rented house & 1/2 acre on Canboro Road" [218]

James McCue Snr: 1861 - rent of 50 acres, Lot 27 1st Con E of Stoney Creek Rd - to be cleared and fenced[219]

Hugh Gilmore: 1866 "rented farm on N 1/2 L17, 1st Con SE of Stoney Creek Rd, for 1 year"[220]

Daniel Clemo: 1865 $50[221]; 1867 $60, "leased, lately Indian Reserve in township of Canboro"[222]; same in 1868[223]; same in 1869[224]; again in 1872[225]

Robert Phillips: 1867 $70, "Brown's bridge farm", Indiana[226]; same in 1868[227]; same in 1869[228]

John Walsh: 1867-1875, rented Lot 27 from DT[229]

Mrs Mary Ann Walsh (John's widow): 1876 leased lot 27 for 3 yrs[230] - she died in 1880[231]

John Spencer: 1872 rented rear parts of River lots 5 and 6, comprising 50 acres, for 5 years[232]

Wills Murdoch: 1873 – rented Lot 26, Con 1, 50 acres for 7 years[233]

John & Henry Spencer: 1877 – rented lot 26, Con 1 (including lots in Deans), River lots 5 and 6 and Lot 28 for a period of 3 years

James Darcy: 1877, rented lot 17, 2nd Concession E of Stoney Creek Rd for 3 yrs[234]

Endnotes

[1] Gerald T Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield *Canadian Industry in 1871: Haldimand County Industries, 1871 Index to Manuscript Census*, Ontario County Series #8, (Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1991), 29.

[2] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 133; Indiana Day Book, 1871-77, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Cayuga Ontario.

[3] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 104, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[4] *General Journal 1870-1877,* pp 160, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park Cayuga.

[5] There are numerous references to her, see for example: *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 104; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 321; attic pigeonhole 56, #54B front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[6] *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[7] *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[8] *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[9] *General Journal 1831-1837,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[10] Minutes Indiana Bridge Co - directors met at his hotel for meeting, X97B.1030.1, "Ina" 3BA, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[11] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 114, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[12] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[13] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[14] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* pp. 8, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[15] *Indiana - Blotter #1, Jun 1858-Mar 1860*; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[16] October 1858, *Indiana Cash Book A 1858-1864*, pp. 9-10, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[17] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*, pp. 86, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[18] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*, pp. 294, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[19] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp. 218, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[20] There were multiple references to this but see for example: *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64*; artifact room, Col ATT trunk, 8, #2, Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; *Gazatteer and Directory, Indiana*, (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867).

[21] There were multiple references to him, see: *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 81; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 123, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; 1861 and 1871 Census records for Haldimand County.

[22] 1871 Census record shows George Adams and James Boag boarded at "John Farrell's hotel".

[23] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, pp 26, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[24] *Mitchell's Canada Business Directory*; attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[25] There were multiple references to him, see for example: *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana*; *Mitchell's Canada Business Directory*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[26] *1867 Gazetteer,* Indiana.

[27] *1867 Gazetteer,* Indiana.

[28] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp. 10, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[29] 1871 Census record shows Richard Baker boarded at E Barry's establishment.

[30] Attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; 1871 Census for Haldimand County.

[31] 1871 Census record shows Joseph Appleton boarded at Michael Madigan's house.

[32] 1871 Census record shows Catharine Callaghan boarding at Thomas Powers.

[33] 1871 Census record shows William Fagan boarding at Thomas Finlen's.

[34] 1871 Census record shows William Miller boarding at the Cochrane's house.

[35] 1871 Census record shows James Cronk boarding at Peter McKay's house.

[36] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp 131, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[37] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, *General Journal 1870-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[38] 1881 Census record shows John Brooks "widow" boarded at Geo Shipway's house.

[39] Attic pigeonhole 11AB, #9, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[40] Artifact room, metal trunk, 26, #8, Ruthven Park Archives; 1881 Census for Haldimand County.

[41] TV room, 2 of 5, Doc #28, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[42] *Mitchell's Canada Business Directory*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[43] Mitchell's Canada Business Directory, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[44] *Gazetteer, Counties of Haldimand and Brant,* (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867).

[45] *1867 Gazetteer, Haldimand County*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 197, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[46] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[47] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[48] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[49] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[50] Attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[51] In his marriage notice it listed him as a merchant in Indiana, *The Christian Guardian*, Toronto, Nov 9, 1842.

[52] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 9, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[53] There were numerous references to Craigie as a merchant in Indiana, see for example *Cayuga Sachem*, May 26, 1854, Advertisement; *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860; Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, no pg #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[54] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp. 156, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[55] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860; Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[56] Attic pigeonhole 10AB, #68 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; *Mitchell's Canada Business Directory*, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[57] 1861 Census, worth $200; *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; *1867 Gazatteer, Indiana*; Indiana Land Registry Records, Registry Office, Cayuga.

[58] Attic pigeonhole 33A, #35 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[59] *Grand River Sachem,* Mar 14, 1866, Advertisement: To Let, the store in the village of Indiana, Lately occupied by D Heenan, Esq "The premises are in every way suitable to a large Country Trade, Particularly in farm produce. Comfortable dwelling and garden attached".

[60] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[61] Attic pigeonhole 33A, #11A pg 1 front; attic pigeonhole 33A, #44 front and back; attic pigeonhole 61A, #22C front; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 70, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[62] Between 1871 and 1973 Albert Sweet attempted to sue David Thompson because he alleged that Thompson had agreed to sell him the "Old saw mill" for 5 cents, in Indiana. Thompson "Positively denied that". He brought forward a number of witnesses and paid out $976.59 to fight the case, *General Journal 1870-1879*, pp. 208, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[63] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pp#, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[64] Attic pigeonhole 57, #1 front; attic pigeonhole 55B, #1, pgs 2-54, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[65] Attic pigeonhole 61B, #1D front; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 131, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[66] Bruce Emmerson Hill, *The Grand River Navigation Company*, (Brantford: Brant Historical Society Publications, 1994), 32.

[67] Land sale: basement recroom, large buffet, #1C, inside left, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[68] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 27.

[69] Hill, 1994, 57.

[70] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[71] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 62, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[72] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, pp 20, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[73] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 165, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[74] Hill, 1994, 32.

[75] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[76] Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 26.

[77] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[78] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 1, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[79] Indenture, October 25, 1877, attic pigeonhole 33A, #10 3 pgs, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[80] *Petty Ledger #4, 1839-40,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[81] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859*; *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[82] "Commenced working for David Thompson at $650/yr" in 1857, *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860*, Indiana, Blotter #1, Jun 1858-Mar 1860, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[83] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, pp 4-10 and *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[84] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 88, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga; *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana.*

[85] *Indiana Blotter #3, 1860-62*, pp 1-10, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[86] 1861 Census reported his capital investment of $1500; attic pigeonhole 33A, #20 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[87] Attic pigeonhole 55, #3, Millers statement; attic pigeonhole 57 #12 front; attic pigeonhole 57, #4 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[88] Attic pigeonhole 57, #13 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[89] Attic pigeonhole 57, #4 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[90] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*; attic pigeonhole, 25AA, #56, pg 1-93, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[91] Ruthven Mill Receipts for 1874, attic pigeonhole 25AA, #56, pg 1-93; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 123; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 139; attic pigeonhole 22AB1, #7, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[92] See: Notes from the miller, Ruthven Mill, attic pigeonhole 38A, #51; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 184, and 324; attic pigeonhole 38A, #51, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[93] Jan 1884, Ruthven Mills, see: attic pigeonhole 17AB-1, #3, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[94] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[95] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[96] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 197 and 224, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[97] Attic pigeonhole 55A, #3 - Millers Statement, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[98] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[99] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[100] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 136, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[101] Ruthven Mill Receipts for 1874, attic pigeonhole 25AA, #56, pg 1-93, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[102] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 164, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[103] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 358, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[104] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[105] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[106] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[107] David's 1863 briefcase, Bundle #3 (main box), Doc #1, Front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[108] Mentioned in 1871: Bloomfield and Bloomfield, 1990, 26.

[109] Mitchell's Canada Business Directory, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[110] *Indiana Cash Book, 1858-64,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[111] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[112] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[113] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[114] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[115] *Indiana Petty Ledger, 1862-1870*, pp 90, 165, 196 and 226; *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 12, 33 and 156, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[116] Cheryl Macdonald, *Haldimand History: The Early Years*, (Nanticoke: Heronwood Enterprises, 2004), 57.

[117] Floreen Ellen Carter, Place Names of Ontario, Volume 1, (London: Phelps Publishing Company, 1984), 562; letter from David to Archibald, (PF3-40, RP DT 3), Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[118] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[119] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga; July 24, 1855 TV Room, 4 of 5, #15 and 16, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[120] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[121] *1867 Gazetteer, Indiana*; List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[122] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[123] According to one source, Charles McKenna was the postmaster and he "absconded with all the funds". The source went on to say that the two successors of the post office "walked out of the place after relatively short tenures." Found: "Indiana Ghost Town", http://www.ghosttownpix.com/ontario/towns/indiana.shtml

[124] Post Offices in Canada, with the names of the Postmasters on the 1st July, 1869, printed by the order of the Postmaster General, (Ottawa: Printed by Hunter Rose and Company).

[125] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[126] Postage Account, attic pigeonhole 33B, #5C front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[127] Attic pigeonhole 33B, #37 front, attic pigeonhole 33B, #32 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[128] Postage Invoice, attic pigeonhole 61B, #1A front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[129] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[130] Canada Official Postal Guide, revised and published quarterly by authority of the Postmaster General, October 1882, (Ottawa: Printed by MacLean, Roger and Co, Wellington Street,

Corrected October 1, 1882); List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[131] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[132] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga; 1891 Census for Haldimand County.

[133] List of postmasters, Mary Nelles' Notes, Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[134] List of postmasters and post offices Haldimand Museum and Archives, Cayuga.

[135] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park; 1861 Census record for Haldimand County.

[136] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[137] Tavern licenses issues for 1868-1869 in Haldimand Co, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports.

[138] 1861 Census record shows he was 22 years old and that he owned a tavern; Tavern licenses issues for 1868-1869 in Haldimand Co, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports.

[139] Tavern licenses issues for 1868-1869 in Haldimand Co, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports.

[140] Tavern licenses issues for 1868-1869 in Haldimand Co, Sessional Papers/Parliamentary Reports.

[141] *General Ledger 1834-1849*, pp 201, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[142] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 39, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[143] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[144] Attic pigeonhole 56, #39 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[145] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 20, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[146] *Indiana Petty Ledger #6, 1851 to 1859,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[147] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881*, 1860, pp 177, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[148] *Indiana Ledger "B" 1860 to 1881*, 1860, pp 188; *Indiana Blotter #3, 1960-62*, pp 5, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[149] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, April 1, 1862, no pp#, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[150] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, April 1, 1862, no pp#, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[151] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881*, pp. 164, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[152] *Indiana Ledger "B", 1860 to 1881,* pp 164, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[153] *Petty Ledger, Indiana 1862 to 1870,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[154] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp 11, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[155] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[156] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp 132, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[157] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-1877*, pp 139, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[158] As noted in the Indenture between Alexander Macduff and Thompson II, Attic Pigeonhole 21, #35A, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[159] Indenture, attic pigeonhole 21, #35A, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[160] Indenture, attic pigeonhole 21, #36, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[161] As stated in the *1867 Gazetteer, Seneca Township.*

[162] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 53, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[163] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 53, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[164] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 53, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[165] Expenses for New Buildings and Repairs on the Ruthven Homestead and Farm, *Indiana Petty Ledger #6*, Page 161 and 192, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga. The invoices specifically mentioned the "Barry" house throughout the expenses.

[166] *Indiana Petty Ledger 6, 1851-1859*, pp 168, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[167] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 64, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[168] *Indiana Petty Ledger B, 1851-1859*, pp 166, *Indiana Petty Ledger #6*, 1851 to 1859, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[169] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 64, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[170] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 178, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[171] *Indiana Day Book "A", 1854 to 1860,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[172] From: *A Pocket Diary*, written by David Thompson for year 1873, attic pigeonhole 49, Diary, 1873, #2-137, June 14, 1873, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[173] *Indiana Petty Ledger B, 1851-1859*, pp 181, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[174] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 74, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[175] *General Journal, 1851 to 1866*, pp 74, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[176] Lease, attic pigeonhole 13AB #16, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[177] Indenture, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #3, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[178] Indenture, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #4, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[179] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pg #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[180] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pg #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[181] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #5, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[182] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #5, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[183] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 438, attic pigeonhole 21, #37, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[184] Attic pigeonhole 21, #37, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[185] Attic pigeonhole 33B, #38, front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[186] Attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #4, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[187] Attic pigeonhole 38A, #19, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[188] *General Journal 1870-1877*, pp 89, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[189] Indenture between David and Elizabeth Thompson and John Lynch, December 1, 1885, Basement Recroom, Large Buffet, #1 of 3, #24C, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[190] *Indiana Blotter #3, Oct 1860-May 1862*, no pg #, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[191] Construction costs of Geddes house, attic pigeonhole 23, #30, p 10, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[192] Conditions and specification of building farm dwelling at Ruthven, Aug 1st, 1870, attic pigeonhole 23, #30, pages 1-10, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[193] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 286, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[194] Letter, attic pigeonhole 60C, #50D front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[195] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #29, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[196] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #29, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[197] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #26, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[198] Lease, attic pigeonhole 23, #35, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[199] Lease, attic pigeonhole 23, #34, 1 page, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[200] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #31, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[201] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #33, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[202] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #33, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[203] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #13, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[204] *Indiana Day Book 1871-1877*, March 6, 1872, pp 26, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[205] 1871 Census shows Isaac Broughton (widow) boarding with Thomas Upton.

[206] Lease, attic pigeonhole 23, #37, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[207] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 439, attic pigeonhole 23, #43, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[208] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 439, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[209] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #10, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[210] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 437, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[211] Indenture, attic pigeonhole 22, #29, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[212] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 437, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[213] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 437, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[214] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 437, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[215] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 444 and attic pigeonhole 21, #38A, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[216] Indenture, attic pigeonhole 23, #36, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[217] *Indiana Ledger B, 1860-1881*, pp 444, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[218] *Indiana Day Book A 1858-1864*, pp. 103, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[219] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #25, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[220] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB, #22, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[221] Attic pigeonhole 36A, #11D, left, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[222] *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870*, pp 39, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[223] *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870*, pp 112, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[224] *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870*, pp 140, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[225] *Untitled Cash Book, 1872-73,* Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[226] *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870*, pp 35, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[227] *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870*, pp 133, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[228] *Indiana Day Book 1866-1870*, pp 158, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[229] *Indiana Day Book, 1871-77*; attic pigeonhole 21, #30A, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[230] Indenture, attic pigeonhole 21, #30A, 4 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[231] Letter from Macduff to David Thompson, in reference to Mrs. Mary Anne Walsh, "she died today April 20", attic pigeonhole 56, #74 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[232] Indenture, Attic pigeonhole 23, #35 front and back, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park.

[233] Lease, attic pigeonhole 22AB2, #3, 2 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

[234] Attic pigeonhole 22AB, #15, 3 pages, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park, Cayuga.

Appendix H: Occupations and Census Categories for Women in Indiana

Occupation	1830's	1840's	1850's	1860's	1870's	1880's	1890's	1900's	Total
boarding house	1		3						4
child		3	34	70	46	26			179
cook					7				7
domestic				1					1
dressmaker/milliner			2	3		1	1		7
seamstress			1			1			2
farmer			2	3				1	6
governess				1	3				4
hired girl/lessor girl	5	1	22						28
house maid					1				1
Indian			4						4
keeping house			1						1
laborer	1		4	14					19
landowner		1	1						2
ns·	3	20	87	146	76	46	22	1	401
nurse				5	9				14
postmaster						1			1
secretary		1							1
servant	4	1	6	15	14	7	2		49
spinster					2		2		4
store clerk						1			1
tailoress						1			1
tavern keeper			1	1					2
teacher					1	6	4		11
typewriter							1		1
washerwoman			1			1			2
widow	2	1	3	10	12	4	2		34
Total	16	28	172	269	171	95	34	2	**787**

total # wage earners = 173

Appendix I: Miller's CC Index for the Westfield

Lot	Ceramic Decoration	Quantity	Calculation	Totals	Final Calculation	CC Index
LOT 13 totals	Level 1 (undecorated)	1181	1181x1	1181		
	Level 2 (minimal decoration)	76	76x2	152		
	Level 3 (hand painted)	40	40x3	120		
	Level 4 (transfer wares)	139	139x4	556		
		1436		2009	2009 div by 1436	1.4
Lot 14 total	Level 1 (undecorated)	215	215x1	215		
2004 & 2006	Level 2 (minimal decoration)	19	19x2	38		
	Level 3 (hand painted)	17	17x3	51		
	Level 4 (transfer wares)	33	33x4	132		
		284		436	436 div by 284	1.5
LOT 15 total	Level 1 (undecorated)	322	322x1	322		
	Level 2 (minimal decoration)	75	75x2	150		
	Level 3 (hand painted)	22	22x3	66		
	Level 4 (transfer wares)	18	18x4	72		
		437		610	610 div by 437	1.4

Appendix J: CE Bourne, Merchant

Date	Particulars	Amount	
1874			
Nov 16.	2 gals coal oil	0.70	
Nov 18.	order paid Mrs Walsh	0.36	
	1/2 doz plates (.55), cups (.80), scallop (.25)	1.60	
	1 chamber set	2.25	
Nov 20.	sugar (1.), cornstarch (.15)	1.15	
	cinnamon (.10), nutmeg (.10)	0.20	
	L galsses (.16), 2 gals oil (.70)	0.86	
Nov 30.	books (2.25), 2 gals oil (.70)	2.95	
	collars (.15), salt (.20)	0.35	
Dec 4.	pepper (.25), 2 gals oil (.70)	0.95	
Dec 10.	currants (.36), ginger (.05)	0.41	
	10 yds ribbon (.40), oil (.70), salt (.16)	1.26	
Dec 19.	ribbon (.15), shoe brush (.25)	0.40	
Dec 29.	matches (.20), cinnamon (.10)	0.30	
	nutmeg	0.10	
1875			
Jan 7.	lamp wicks (.05), collars (.25)	0.30	
Jan 14.	canary seed (.13) biscuit (.40)	0.53	
Jan 15.	oatmeal	0.25	
Jan 27.	L glasses (.60), L wicks (.10)	0.70	
	pipe (.05), lace (.30)	0.35	
Feb 3.	mustard (.31), nutmeg (.25)	0.56	
Feb 17.	ginger (.20), pepper (.12)	0.32	
Mar 3.	matches (.20), blacking (.10)	0.30	17.15

found: attic pigeonhole 61B, #12 front, Thompson Papers, Ruthven Park

Appendix K: Mean Ceramic Dates, Lot 13

Provenience	Freq	Date Range	Median	Calculation	totals	Calculation	MCD
0N:119W	5	1828-1840	1834	1834x5	9170		
	2	1828-1860	1844	1844x2	3688		
	1	1830-1890	1860	1860x1	1860		
	69	1828-1900	1864	1864x69	128616		
	2	1845-1900	1873	1873x2	3746		
	6	1830-1920	1875	1875x6	11250		
	85				158330	div by 85	1863
10S:86W	2	1830-1840	1835	1835x2	3670		
	5	1828-1900	1864	1864x5	9320		
	7				12990	div by 7	1856
11S:84W	2	1830-1840	1835	1835x2	3670		
	1	1790-1920	1855	1855x1	1855		
	1	1830-1890	1860	1860x1	1860		
	3	1828-1900	1864	1864x3	5592		
	7				12977	div by 7	1853
12.5S:117W	20	1780-1830	1810	1810x20	36200		
	14	1828-1840	1834	1834x14	25676		
	8	1830-1840	1835	1835x8	14680		
	37	1828-1860	1844	1844x37	68228		
	1	1840-1850	1845	1845x1	1845		
	19	1840-1860	1850	1850x19	35150		
	10	1790-1920	1855	1855x10	18550		
	3	1830-1890	1860	1860x3	5580		
	312	1828-1900	1864	1864x312	581568		
	6	1830-1900	1865	1865x6	11190		
	27	1830-1920	1875	1875x27	50625		
	457				849292	div by 457	1858
12S:86W	2	1828-1860	1844	1844x2	3688		
	5	1828-1900	1864	1865x5	9325		
	7				13013	div by 7	1859
14S:84W	2	1790-1830	1810	1810x2	3620		
	7	1828-1900	1864	1864x7	13069		
	9				16689	div by 9	1854
1N:119W	3	1828-1840	1834	1834x3	5502		
	11	1828-1860	1844	1844x11	20284		
	3	1840-1860	1850	1850x3	5550		
	2	1830-1890	1860	1860x2	3720		
	88	1828-1900	1864	1864x88	164032		
	1	1845-1900	1873	1873x1	1873		
	6	1830-1920	1875	1875x6	11250		
	114				212211	div by 114	1862

Appendix K: Mean Ceramic Dates, Lot 13

Provenience	Freq	Date Range	Median	Calculation	totals	Calculation	MCD
8.5S:117W	8	1780-1830	1810	1810x8	14480		
	4	1760-1900	1830	1830x4	7320		
	5	1828-1840	1834	1834x5	9170		
	3	1830-1840	1835	1835x3	5505		
	21	1828-1860	1844	1844x21	38724		
	8	1840-1860	1850	1850x8	14800		
	9	1790-1920	1855	1855x9	16695		
	330	1828-1900	1864	1864x330	615120		
	9	1830-1900	1865	1865x9	16785		
	2	1845-1900	1873	1873x2	3746		
	12	1830-1920	1875	1875x12	22500		
	411				764845	div by 411	1861
8.5S:118W	4	1790-1830	1810	1810x4	7240		
	3	1828-1840	1834	1834x3	5502		
	14	1828-1860	1844	1844x14	25816		
	8	1840-1860	1850	1850x8	14800		
	6	1790-1920	1855	1855x6	11130		
	1	1830-1890	1860	1860	1860		
	250	1828-1900	1864	1864x250	466000		
	1	1830-1900	1865	1865x1	1865		
	4	1845-1900	1873	1873x4	7492		
	14	1830-1920	1875	1875x14	26250		
	305				567955	div by 305	1862
8S:86W	1	1840-1860	1850	1x1850	1850		
	7	1828-1900	1864	7x1864	13048		
	1	1845-1900	1873	1x1873	1873		
	2	1830-1920	1875	2x1875	3750		
	11				20521	div by 11	1866
8S:96W	1	1828-1840	1834	1834x1	1834		
	4	1828-1860	1844	1844x4	7376		
	3	1840-1860	1850	1850x3	5500		
	5	1830-1890	1860	1860x5	9300		
	13	1828-1900	1864	1864x13	24232		
	2	1845-1900	1873	1873x2	3746		
	5	1830-1920	1875	1875x5	9375		
	33				61363	div by 33	1859
Total Lot 13	34	1780-1830	1810	1810x34	61540		
	4	1760-1900	1830	1830x3	5490		
	31	1828-1840	1834	1834x31	56854		
	15	1830-1840	1835	1835x15	27525		
	91	1828-1860	1844	1844x91	167804		
	1	1840-1850	1845	1845x1	1845		
	42	1840-1860	1850	1850x42	77700		
	26	1790-1920	1855	1855x26	48230		
	13	1830-1890	1860	1860x13	24180		
	1089	1828-1900	1864	1864x1089	2029896		
	16	1830-1900	1865	1865x16	29840		
	12	1845-1900	1873	1873x12	22476		
	72	1830-1920	1875	1875x72	135000		
	1446				2688380	div by 1446	1859

Appendix L: Mean Ceramic Dates, Lot 14 (2006 excavation)

Provenience	Freq	Date Range	Median	Calculation	totals	Calculation	MCD
24S:85W	1	1830-1840	1835	1835x1	1835		
	7	1828-1900	1864	1864x7	13048		
	8				14883	div by 8	1860
26.5S:117W	1	1790-1830	1810	1810x1	1810		
	4	1828-1840	1834	1834x4	7336		
	6	1830-1840	1835	1835x6	11010		
	9	1828-1860	1844	1844x9	16596		
	5	1840-1850	1845	1845x5	9225		
	3	1840-1860	1850	1850x3	5550		
	57	1828-1900	1864	1864x57	106248		
	1	1830-1900	1865	1865x1	1865		
	6	1830-1920	1875	1875x6	11250		
	92				170890	div by 92	1858
26S:85W	9	1828-1900	1864	9x1864	16776	div by 9	1864
30S:85W	1	1828-1840	1834	1834x1	1834		
	1	1828-1860	1844	1844x1	1844		
	1	1840-1860	1850	1850x1	1850		
	3	1828-1900	1864	1864x3	5592		
	6				11120	div by 6	1853
32S:118W	3	1830-1840	1835	1835x3	5505		
	3	1828-1860	1844	1844x3	5532		
	1	1840-1850	1845	1845x1	1845		
	24	1828-1900	1864	1864x24	44736		
	1	1830-1920	1875	1875x1	1875		
	32				59493	div by 32	1859
32S:84W	4	1828-1840	1834	1834x4	7336		
	1	1840-1860	1850	1850x1	1850		
	7	1828-1900	1864	1864x7	13048		
	12				22234	div by 12	1853
34S:85W	1	1828-1860	1844	1844x1	1844		
	1	1840-1860	1850	1850x1	1850		
	1	1790-1920	1855	1855x1	1855		
	1	1828-1900	1864	1864x1	1864		
	4				7413	div by 4	1853
36S:84W	2	1830-1840	1835	1835x2	3670		
	7	1828-1900	1864	1864x7	13048		
	9				16718	div by 9	1858
38S:85W	1	1830-1840	1835	1835x1	1835		
	11	1828-1900	1864	1864x11	20504		
	2	1830-1920	1875	1875x2	3750		
	14				26089	div by 14	1864
Total lot 14	1	1790-1830	1810	1810x1	1810		
	9	1828-1840	1834	1834x9	16506		
	13	1830-1840	1835	1835x13	23855		
	14	1828-1860	1844	1844x14	25816		
	6	1840-1850	1845	1845x6	11070		
	6	1840-1860	1850	1850x6	11100		
	1	1790-1920	1855	1855x1	1855		
	126	1828-1900	1864	1864x126	234864		
	1	1830-1900	1865	1865x1	1865		
	9	1830-1920	1875	1875x9	16875		
	186				345616	div by 186	1858

Appendix M: Mean Ceramic Dates, Lot 15, 2006

Provenience	Freq	Date Range	Median	Calculation	totals	Calculation	MCD
42S:85W	1	1830-1840	1835	1835x1	1835		
	3	1828-1900	1864	1864x3	5592		
	4	1830-1920	1875	1875x4	7500		
	8				14927	div by 8	1866
45S:85W	6	1830-1920	1875	1875x6	11250	div by 6	1875
46S:85W	1	1760-1900	1830	1830x1	1830		
	1	1830-1840	1835	1835x1	1835		
	8	1828-1900	1864	1864x8	14912		
	27	1830-1920	1875	1875x27	50625		
	37				69202	div by 37	1870
Total Lot 15	1	1760-1900	1830	1830x1	1830		
	2	1830-1840	1835	1835x2	3670		
	11	1828-1900	1864	1864x11	20504		
	37	1830-1920	1875	1875x37	69375		
	51				95379	div by 51	1870

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